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OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE C OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

BY WILLIAM BIRNEY,

OF CINCINNATI.

SECTION I.

REMARKS.

The argument of this article may be reduced to the following points:

I. The slave-holding states rule the Union.
II. They should not, for, compared with free states,

1. They are less in population.
2. They contributed less, both in money and military force, to achieve the independence of the States.

3. They are less intelligent.
4. They are inferior in wealth, manhood, commercial and agricultural.

The officers are arranged according to power and dignity of their respective offices. It would evidently be improper to place the Secretary of State, who manages the foreign relations of the country, below the Vice President, who is more than a mere officer of ceremony, and who has power, in expectancy and not in possession.

It will be observed that the names of the officers who declined appointments are omitted. The tables cover the years between March 1843 and January 1843.

TABLE I.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Slave States.

State.	Date.
G. Washington, Virginia,	1789
T. Jefferson, Virginia,	1801
J. Madison, Virginia,	1809
J. Monroe, Virginia,	1817
A. Jackson, Tennessee,	1829
J. Tyler, Virginia,	1841

Free States.

J. Adams, Mass.	1797
J. Q. Adams, Mass.	1825
M. Van Buren, 1 N. York,	1837
W. H. Harrison, 2 Ohio,	1841

[Southern men have occupied the Presidential chair 41 years and nine months; northern men 12 years and one month.]

1. The northern man with southern principles. In 1840, the Alabama Legislature resolved, "That the present administration of the General Government by promoting the interests of the South and guarding our institutions, has won our admiration and secured our support." Mr. Van Buren voted for the post office gag-law.

2. A Virginian; every act of his public life showed his attachment to the southern policy. In a letter, dated June 1, 1840, to J. Lyons, of Va., he says, "my friends truly assert that I have done and suffered more to support southern rights than any person north of Mason and Dixon's line."

About the same time, the Charleston Mercury, a democratic paper, said of him, "He now stands reclus in curia with the South."

TABLE 2.

One of the most important functions of the Executive Department is the management of our relations with foreign courts. This is entrusted to the Secretary of State. He instructs all ambassadors, ministers, commissioners and consuls; treaties which are the supreme law of the land are formed under his supervision directed by the President and are not submitted to the Senate, except for final ratification. We therefore place him next to the Chief Magistrate.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Slave States.	State.	Date.
T. Jefferson,	Virginia,	1789
E. Randolph,	Virginia,	1794
J. Marshall,	Virginia,	1800
J. Madison,	Virginia,	1801
R. Smith,	Maryland,	1809
J. Monroe, 1	Virginia,	1811
H. Clay, 2	Kentucky,	1825
E. Livingston,	Louisiana,	1831
L. McLane,	Delaware,	1833
J. Forsyth, 3	Georgia,	1835

Free States.

T. Pickering,	Pa.	1795
J. Q. Adams,	Mass.	1817
M. Van Buren,	N. Y.	1829
D. Webster,	Mass.	1841

1. During the last war, some of the slaves of our "southern brethren" escaped to the British vessels on the coast and in the southern rivers. A southern administration instructed the commissioners, sent in 1814 to negotiate a treaty of peace, to conclude such a treaty without securing the northern interests for the protection of which the war had ostensibly been commenced; but not to do so, unless Britain would consent to restore the slaves or make compensation for them. "The

OBERLIN COLLEGE
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New Series.]

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It will be observed that the names of persons who declined appointments are omitted throughout. The tables cover the years between March, 1789, and January 1843.

TABLE I.
PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Slave States.			
	State.	Date.	Dura. of office
G. Washington,	Virginia,	1789	8 years
T. Jefferson,	Virginia,	1801	8 "
J. Madison,	Virginia,	1809	8 "
J. Monroe,	Virginia,	1817	8 "
A. Jackson,	Tennessee,	1829	8 "
J. Tyler,	Virginia,	1841	21 months
Free States.			
J. Adams,	Mass.	1797	4 years
J. Q. Adams,	Mass.	1825	4 "
M. Van Buren, 1	N. York,	1837	4 "
W. H. Harrison, 2	Ohio,	1841	1 month.

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1. The northern man with southern principles. In 1840, the Alabama Legislature resolved, "That the present administration of the General Government by promoting the interests of the South and guarding our institutions, has won our admiration and secured our support." Mr. Van Buren voted for the post office gag-law.

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Slave States.		
	State.	Date.
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E. Randolph,	Virginia,	1794
J. Marshall,	Virginia,	1800
J. Madison,	Virginia,	1801
R. Smith,	Maryland,	1809
J. Monroe, 1	Virginia,	1811
H. Clay, 2	Kentucky,	1825
E. Livingston,	Louisiana,	1831
L. McLane,	Delaware,	1833
J. Forsyth, 3	Georgia,	1835
Free States.		
T. Pickens,	Pa.	1795
J. Q. Adams,	Mass.	1817
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FROM
Samuel R. Brown

negroes taken from the southern states should be returned to their owners or paid for at their full value." This stipulation is included "in the conditions on which you are to insist in the proposed negotiations."—*Letter of instruction from Mr. Monroe, Jan. 28th, 1814.* American State papers, Vol. 9, page 364.

2. June 10th 1826, Mr. Clay instructed Mr. Gallatin, our minister to England, to propose a restoration of slaves escaping from the West Indies to the United States, if England would reciprocate the favor by restoring slaves escaping from the United States to Canada. The proposal was promptly rejected.

3. This southern secretary considered the settlement of the North Eastern boundary as a matter of secondary importance, when compared with the claims of southern masters for shipwrecked slaves—thus freed by the act of God. He says, in a letter of instructions in 1836, to our slaveholding ambassador in England:—"The most immediately pressing of the matters with which the United States Legation at London is now charged, is the claim of certain American citizens against Great Britain for a number of slaves, the cargoes of three vessels wrecked on British islands in the Atlantic."

From the above notes it appears that the free Republic of the United States is a most convenient slave-catcher for the South.

4. This gentleman well earned his present office by his pledge to the South at Richmond, Virginia, in 1840. "There is," said Mr. Webster, "one perpetual outcry in all the administration papers from Baltimore, South, admonishing the people of the south, that their own state governments and the property they hold under them are not secure if they admit a northern man to hold any considerable share in the administration of the Government. You all know that this is the general cry. In regard to slavery, I hold that Congress has no right to interfere in any manner whatever, with that subject." [Immense cheering.] He means in the states, and so say the anti-slavery men, but the peculiar circumstances in which Mr. W. stood, gave this language all the force of an explicit pledge to the southern policy.

TABLE 3.

The third office in dignity under the Federal Government is that of Judge of the Supreme Court. He is removable from office only on impeachment for, and conviction of some malfeasance.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Slave States.		
State.		Date.
J. Marshall,	Virginia,	1801
J. Rutledge,	S. Carolina,	1789
J. Blair,	Virginia,	1789
J. Iredell,	N. Carolina,	1790
T. Johnson,	Maryland,	1791
S. Chase,	Maryland,	1796
B. Washington,	Virginia,	1798
W. Johnson,	S. Carolina,	1804
T. Todd,	Virginia,	1807
G. Duval,	Maryland,	1811
R. Trimble,	Kentucky,	1826

J. M. Wayne,	Georgia,	1835
R. B. Taney,	Maryland,	1836
P. P. Barbour,	Virginia,	1836
J. McKinley,	Alabama,	1837
J. Catron,	Tennessee,	1837
P. Y. Daniel,	Virginia,	1841

Free States.

J. Jay,	N. York,	1789
W. Cushing,	Massachusetts,	1789
J. Wilson,	Pennsylvania,	1789
W. Patterson,	N. York,	1793
O. Ellsworth,	Connecticut,	1796
B. Livingston,	N. York,	1807
J. Story,	Massachusetts,	1811
S. Thompson,	N. York,	1823
J. McLean,	Ohio,	1829
H. Baldwin,	Pennsylvania,	1830

The north has had no Chief Justice since 1801.

In the last nine years, six appointments have been made to the Supreme bench—all from slave states. That these states have the control of the Judiciary is made still clearer by

TABLE 4.

The Attorney General of the United States is the confidential adviser of the President as well as of the heads of the other Departments, on all legal or constitutional questions. He appears for the United States in all cases in the Supreme Court to which they are a party.

ATTORNEYS GENERAL.

Slave States.		Date.
State.		
E. Randolph,	Virginia,	1789
C. Lee,	Virginia,	1795
R. Smith,	Maryland,	1803
J. Breckenridge,	Kentucky,	1806
C. A. Rodney,	Delaware,	1807
W. Pinkney,	Maryland,	1811
W. Wirt,	Virginia,	1817
J. M. Berrien, 1	Georgia,	1829
R. B. Taney,	Maryland,	1831
F. Grundy,	Tennessee,	1838
J. J. Crittenden,	Kentucky,	1841
H. S. Legare, 2	S. Carolina,	1841

Free States.

W. Bradford,	Pennsylvania,	1794
L. Lincoln,	Massachusetts,	1801
R. Rush,	Pennsylvania,	1814
B. F. Butler,	N. York,	1834
H. D. Gilpin,	Pennsylvania,	1839

1. "I have been educated in sentiments of habitual reverence for the Constitution of the United States: I have been taught to consider the Union of these states as essential to their safety.—The feeling is nowhere so universal or more strong than among the people of the south. But they have a stronger feeling—need I name it? Speech in Congress on the Panama mission, 1826. He was ready to nullify the Constitution and dissolve the Union, if either came in conflict with the interests of the "peculiar institution."

2. The annual trade of the north with the black Republic of Hayti, amounts to 1,252,824 dollars; but that Republic lays a heavy discriminating duty on our vessels and trade, because the U. States have insultingly refused to recognize her nation-

al independence. Some northern merchants engaged in this trade, and wishing to get rid of the heavy taxes upon it, petitioned Congress in 1838, to recognize Hayti as a Government. In the debate on the petition, Mr. Legare said, "It ought to be rejected with reprobation. As sure as you live, sir, if this course is permitted to go on, the sun of this Union will go down—it will go down in Blood—and go down to rise no more. I pronounce the authors of such things *traitors*, traitors not to their country only, but to the whole human race."

TABLE 5.

The slave power has for many years past, given complexion to the National Legislation through a southern speaker of the House of Representatives. It can be provided beyond cavil, that the most important committees of the House have generally been under the control of slaveholders, placed on them by the Speaker. This may account for the partiality shown to the slave states of the Union in every Federal Law, into which it could by any possibility be insinuated. Congress has forgotten the interests of free labor and legislated for cotton. The North too, has been completely saturated with the peculiar constitutional views of southern politicians in the shape of Congressional Reports.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

<i>Slave States.</i>		
State		Date.
J. Dayton	N. Jersey	1795
"	"	1797
N. Macon	N. Carolina	1801
"	"	1805
H. Clay	Kentucky	1811
"	"	1813
L. Cheves	S. Carolina	1814
H. Clay	Kentucky	1815
"	"	1817
"	"	1819
P. P. Barbour	Virginia	1821
H. Clay	Kentucky	1823
A. Stevenson	Virginia	1827
"	"	1829
"	"	1831
J. Bell	Tennessee	1833
J. K. Polk	Tennessee	1835
"	"	1837
R. M. T. Hunter	Virginia	1839
J. White	Kentucky	1841

Free States.

F. A. Muhlenburg	Pennsylvania	1789
J. Trumbull	Connecticut	1791
F. A. Muhlenburg	Pennsylvania	1793
T. Sedgwick	Massachusetts	1799
J. B. Varnum	Massachusetts	1802
"	"	1807
"	"	1809
J. W. Taylor 1	New York	1820
"	"	1825

1. With the exception of J. W. Taylor of New York who served three years, the North has not given a speaker to the House since 1809.

TABLE 6.

The Secretary of War has the control of the army of the United States, under the direction of the President. The South, at the Conclusion of the last war, took this department into favor and monopolized it for nearly thirteen years. When the slave power thought proper in 1837 to make the United States break their treaty of peace with the unoffending Florida Seminoles, because they would not give their negro wives, half-breed children and negro slaves to Georgian and Carolina claimants, the justice of whose claims remains yet to be proved, it again filled this department; and that slave catching war, paid for by the North, at the rate of some eight millions annually, has been conducted under the auspices of slaveholders.

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

<i>Slave States.</i>		
State.		Date
J. McHenry	Maryland	1796
W. H. Crawford	Georgia 1	1815
J. C. Calhoun	South Carolina	1817
J. Barbour	Virginia	1825
J. H. Eaton	Tennessee	1829
J. R. Poinsett	South Carolina	1837
J. Bell	Tennessee	1841

Free States.

State.		Date.
H. Knox	Massachusetts	1789
T. Pickens	Pennsylvania	1795
S. Dexter	Massachusetts	1800
H. Dearborn	Massachusetts	1801
W. Eustis	Massachusetts	1809
J. Armstrong	New York	1813
P. B. Porter 2	New York	1823
L. Cass	Ohio	1831
J. C. Spencer	New York	1841

1 The Federal government has never been led by its zeal for the advancement of northern interests, to make a hostile descent on the territory of a nation at peace with us; for the interests of the peculiar property" of the South, however, it has dishonored itself by trading under foot a solemn treaty of peace with Spain, and invading the territory of that nation, to break up a settlement of Indians and negroes, supposed to harbor runaway negroes from Georgia. These persons occupied a fort on the Appalachicola, and had opened several plantations around it. The attack was made from a gunboat, and the result is thus stated in the official report: "Three hundred negroes, *men, women and children*, and about twenty Indians were in the fort; two hundred and seventy were killed and the greater part of the rest mortally wounded." How long will it be, ere the slave power dictates an attack on Canada for the same reason?

2 Only a few months in office.

There are fifty-nine military posts and arsenals in the United States; of these, thirty-four are in the South, twenty-five in the North. The soldiers are, an immense majority of them, from the free states.

TABLE 7.

The Post office and Treasury departments require great business capacity, unwearied attention to minute details, readiness in the solution of difficult problems and great forecast in arrangement. Southern politicians conscious of their deficiency in these qualities of mind, and hating figures and drudgery, have generally left these offices to their clearer-headed brethren of the North. Since 1829, however, they have, for an obvious reason, kept the Post office department for the most part in their own hands.

POST MASTERS GENERAL.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
J. Habersham Georgia	1695
W. T. Barry Kentucky	1829
A. Kendall 1 Kentucky	1834
C. A. Wickliffe Kentucky	1841

Free States.

State.	Date.
S. Osgood Massachusetts	1789
T. Pickering Pennsylvania	1794
G. Granger Connecticut	1802
R. J. Meigs Ohio	1814
J. McLean Ohio	1840
J. M. Niles 2 Connecticut	1840
F. Granger New York	1841

1. "By no act or direction of mine official or private, could I be induced to aid knowingly in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly." See Kendall's letter on anti-slavery papers to the post master at Charleston S. C. in 1835.

TABLE 8.

The Secretary of the Navy bears authority over 11 ships of the line, 17 frigates, 18 sloops, 4 brigs, 10 schooners and 4 steamers. There was not half the number in 1830; in 1811, there were but fifteen vessels in the Navy.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
B. Stoddart. Maryland	1809
R. Smith Maryland	1802
P. Hamilton South Carolina	1809
J. Branch North Carolina	1829
G. E. Badger South Carolina	1841
A. P. Upsher Virginia	1841

Free States.

State.	Date.
J. Crowninshield Massachusetts	1801
W. Jones Pennsylvania	1814
B. W. Crowninshield Massachusetts	1818
S. Thompson New York	1815
S. L. Southard New Jersey	1833
L. Woodbury New Hampshire	1834
M. Dickerson New Jersey	1838
J. K. Paulding 2 New York	1834

1. A disunionist. His recommendation of an increase of the Navy is opposed by Mr. Adams, on the ground of and intention on the part of the South to use an enlarged Navy for the protection of the coasting trade in slaves.

2. Wrote a book in defence of slavery.

Since the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, the Navy department has been filled with southern men.

TABLE 9.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Slave State.

State.	Date.
G. W. Campbell Tennessee	1814
W. H. Crawford Georgia	1817
L. McLane Delaware	1829
R. B. Taney Maryland	1833

Free States.

State.	Date.
A. Hamilton New York	1789
O. Wolcott Connecticut	1795
S. Dexter Massachusetts	1801
A. Gallatin Pennsylvania	1802
J. A. Dallas Pennsylvania	1814
R. Rush Pennsylvania	1825
S. D. Ingham Pennsylvania	1829
W. J. Duane Pennsylvania	1833
L. Woodbury New Hampshire	1834
T. Ewing Ohio	1841
W. Forward Pennsylvania	1841

TABLE 10.

The Vice President is little more than a pageant of state, during the life of the President.—Custom has taken from him, it is believed in the majority of instances, the organization of the committees of the Senate. From the lights before us, we are inclined to think that this function of his office has been more frequently performed by the President *pro tem* or the senate itself, than by him. The following notice of the appointment of committees in that body, is taken from Niles' Register, vol 31, page 244.

"Dec. 11. The senate then proceeded to ballot for Committees, according to the rule established at the last session and amended at this. The Chairman of each Committee was severally balloted for and then the other members of each committee collectively.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Slave States.

State.	Date.	Dura. of office.
T. Jefferson, Virginia	1797	4 years
J. C. Calhoun, S. C.	1825	8 "
R. M. Johnson, Kentucky,	1837	4 "
John Tyler, Virginia,	1841	1 month

Free States.

State.	Date.	Dura. of office.
John Adams Mass.	1789	8 years
Aaron Burr N. York,	1801	4 "
G. Clinon N. York	1805	8 "
Elbridge Gerry Mass.	1813	4 "
D. D. Tompkins N. Y.	1817	8 "
M. Van Buren N. Y.	1833	4 "

TABLE II.

For the perfect accuracy of this table, I cannot vouch, but believe it generally correct. The names have never before been collated. They were taken by a friend for my use from the records of the Senate.

PRESIDENT'S PRO-TEMPORE OF THE

SENATE.

SLAVE STATES.

Congress.	Session.	Names.	States.
1st	1st	Richard H. Lee	Va.
2d	1st	Henry Tazewell	Va.
3d	2d	" "	"
5th	2d	Jacob Reed	S. C.
6th	2d	John E. Howard	Md.
7th	1st	Abraham Baldwin	Ga.
8th	1st	John Brown	Ky.
8th	2d	Jesse Franklin	N. C.
8th	2d	Joseph Anderson	Tenn.
9th	1st	Samuel Smith	Md.
9th	2d	" "	"
10th	1st	" "	"
10th	2d	John Milledge	Ga.
11th	2d	John Gaillard	S. C.
11th	3d	" "	"
11th	3d	John Pope	Ky.
12th	1st	Wm. H. Crawford	Ga.
12th	2d	" "	"
13th	3d	John Gaillard	S. C.
14th	1st	" "	"
14th	2d	" "	"
15th	1st	" "	"
15th	2d	" "	"
15th	2d	James Barbour	Va.
16th	1st	" "	"
16th	2d	John Gaillard	S. C.
17th	1st	" "	"
17th	2d	" "	"
18th	1st	" "	"
18th	2d	" "	"
19th	1st	Nathaniel Macon	N. C.
19th	2d	" "	"
20th	1st	Samuel Smith	Md.
20th	2d	" "	"
21st	1st	" "	"
21st	2d	Littleton W. Tazewell	Va.
21st	2d	Samuel Smith	Md.
22d	1st	" "	"
22d	2d	Hugh L. White	Tenn.
23d	1st	" "	"
23d	1st	George Poindexter	Miss.
23d	2d	John Tyler	Va.
24th	1st	Wm. R. King	Ala.
24th	2d	" "	"
25th	1st	" "	"
25th	2d	" "	"
25th	3d	" "	"
26th	1st	" "	"
26th	2d	" "	"
27th	2d	W. P. Mangum	N. C.

FREE STATES.

Congress.	Session.	Names.	States.
1st	2d	John Snyder	N. H.
4th	2d	William Brigham	Pa.
5th	2d	Theodore Sedgwick	Mass.
6th	1st	Uriah Tracy	Conn.
6th	2d	Samuel Livermore	N. H.
6th	2d	James Hillhouse	Conn.
7th	2d	Stephen R. Bradley	Vt.
10th	2d	" "	"
11th	1st	Andrew Gregg	Pa.
13th	2d	Joseph B. Varnum	Mass.
26th	2d	Saml. S. Southard	N. J.

Fifty from the Slave States, eleven from the free States.

In the event of the decease of President Tyler, Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, will become the Chief Magistrate of the U. S.

SECTION. II.

The tables in this section embrace all the European Courts to which the United States have ever sent a minister. *Special agents are omitted throughout.* The names of Charge D'Affaires are in italics.

TABLE I.
GREAT BRITAIN.
Slave States

	State	Date
G Morris 1	New Jersey	1789
T Pinkney	South Carolina	1792
J Monroe	Virginia	1803
W Pinckney	Maryland	1806
J Barbour	Virginia	1828
L McLane	Delaware	1829
A Vail	District of Columbia	1832
A Stevenson 2	Virginia	1836

Free States.

	State	Date
Rufus King 3	New York	1796
J Q Adams	Massachusetts	1815
R Rush	Pennsylvania	1817
A Gallatin	Pennsylvania	1826
M Van Buren	New York	1831
E Everett 4	Massachusetts	1841

1. Slavery was not abolished in N. Jersey until 1804.

2. Said to have been a member of the Anti-repeal Corn Law League. For this the wheat growing farmers of the North and West owe him no love.

3. Reappointed in 1825, but prevented by sickness from entering on the discharge of the official duties.

4. Southern senators opposed violently the confirmation of his nomination.

TABLE 2.

FRANCE.

Slave States

	State	Date
W Short	Virginia	1790
G Morris	New Jersey	1792
J Monroe	Virginia	1794
C C Pinckney	South Carolina	1797
J Marshall	Virginia	1797
P Henry	Virginia	1799
W V Murray	Maryland	1799
W R Davie	North Carolina	1799
J A Bayard	Delaware	1801
W H Crawford	Georgia	1813
J Brown	Louisiana	1823
W C Rives	Virginia	1829
E Livingston	Louisiana	1833

Free States

	State	Date
E Gerry	Massachusetts	1797
O Ellsworth	Connecticut	1799

R R Livingston	New York	1801
J Armstrong	New York	1840
J Barlow	Connecticut	1811
A Gallatin	Pennsylvania	1815
L Cass	Ohio	1836

TABLE 3.

SPAIN.

Slave States

State	Date
<i>W Carmichael</i> Maryland	1790
W Short Virginia	1792
T Pinckney South Carolina	1794
C Pinckney South Carolina	1801
J Monroe Virginia	1804
J Forsyth Georgia	1819
H Nelson Virginia	1823
<i>A Middleton</i> South Carolina	
W T Barry Kentucky	1835
J H Eaton Tennessee	1836
<i>A Vail</i> District of Columbia	1840

Free States

State	Date
D Humphreys Connecticut	1796
J Bowdoin Massachusetts	1804
G W Erving Massachusetts	1814
A H Everett Massachusetts	1825
C P Van Ness Vermont	1829
W Irving New York	1842

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TABLE 4.

RUSSIA.

The cold climate of this country, and the limited commercial intercourse of the South with her, have not prevented southern gentlemen from treating the embassy to the Court of St. Petersburg as part of the proper spoils belonging to the victor.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
J. A. Bayard Delaware	1815
W. Pinckney Maryland	
G. W. Campbell Tennessee	1818
H. Middleton S. Carolina	1820
J. Randolph Virginia	
C. S. Todd Kentucky	1841

6

Free States.

State.	Date.
J. Q. Adams Massachusetts	1809
J. Buchanan Pennsylvania	1831
M. Dickerson N. Jersey	18—
W. Wilkins Pennsylvania	
J. R. Clay Pennsylvania	
G. M. Dallas Pennsylvania	1837
C. C. Cambreleng N. York	1840

7

TABLE 5.

PORTUGAL.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
W. Smith S. Carolina	1797
T. Sumpter S. Carolina	1809
J. Graham Virginia	1819
T. J. L. Brent Virginia	1825
W. Barrow Mississippi	1841

Free States.

State.	Date.
D. Humphreys Connecticut	1791
J. Q. Adams Massachusetts	1796
H. Dearborn Massachusetts	1822
E. Kavanaugh Maine	1835

TABLE 6.

SWEDEN.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
<i>C. Hughes</i> Maryland	1819
<i>W. C. Somerville</i> Maryland	1825
<i>C. Hughes</i> Maryland	1830

Free States.

State.	Date.
J. Russell R. Island	1814
<i>J. J. Appleton</i> Massachusetts	1826
G. W. Lay N. York	1842

TABLE 7.

PRUSSIA.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
H. Clay Kentucky	1823

Free States.

State.	Date.
J. Q. Adams Massachusetts	1797
H. Wheaton R. Island	1837

1. The chief business of this gentleman has been to enlarge the market for rice and tobacco.

TABLE 8.

AUSTRIA.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
Dan. Jenifer Maryland	1841

Free States.

State.	Date.
H. Muhlenburg Pennsylvania	1831

TABLE 9.

NETHERLANDS.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
W. Short Virginia	1792
W. V. Murry Maryland	1799
<i>C Hughes</i> Maryland	1825
A. Davezac Louisiana	1831
C. Hughes Maryland	1842

Free States.

State.	Date.
J. Q. Adams Massachusetts	1794
W. Eustis Massachusetts	1814
<i>A. H. Everett</i> Massachusetts	1818
W. P. Preble Maine	1829
H. Bleeker New York	1839

TABLE 10.

NEGOTIATORS OF THE TREATY OF GHENT.

Slave States

State.	Date.
J. A. Bayard Delaware	1813
H. Clay Kentucky	1814

Free States.

State.	Date.
J. Q. Adams Massachusetts	1813
A. Gallatin Pennsylvania	1813
J. Russell Rhode Island	1814

TABLE 11.
TURKEY.
Slave States.

Ministers		
David Porter.	Maryland	1832
D. Porter	Maryland	1836

TABLE 12.

Charge d' Affaires appointed by President Tyler.

<i>Slave States.</i>	Where sent.
H. W. Hillyard Alabama	1842 Belgium
W. Boulware Virginia	1842 Two Sicilies
A Baber Georgia	1841 Sardinia

SECTION III.

The Tables in this section embrace Mexico, Texas and those South American Courts to which the United States have ever sent a Minister. The rule excludes those to which Charge d' Affaires only have been sent. Special agents are omitted throughout. The names of Charge d' Affaires are in italics.

TABLE 1.

MEXICO.

<i>Slave States.</i>		
State.		Date.
A. Jackson Tennessee		1823
J. R. Poinsett South Carolina		1825
A. Butler South Carolina		1834
P. Ellis Mississippi		1837
W. Thompson South Carolina		1841

Free States.

State.	Date.
N. Edwards 1 Illinois	1824
1 A Kentuckian. Southern interest procured him the gubernatorial chair of the Territory of Illinois.	

For a full account of the efforts of southern administrations to involve the U. S. in war with Mexico, in order to effect the annexation of Texas, see the speech of J. Q. Adams, in '37 on Texas. Our Ministers in Mexico have not been backward in their endeavors to accomplish this object—so desirable to the slave-interest of the U. States.

TABLE 2.

REPUBLIC OF COLUMBIA.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
R. C. Anderson Virginia	1823
B. T. Watts South Carolina	1827
T. P. Moore Kentucky	1829
R. B. McAfee Kentucky	1834

Free States.

State.	Date.
W. H. Harrison Ohio	1828

TABLE 3.

BUENOS AYRES.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
C. A. Rodney Delaware	1823
J. M. Forbes Florida	1825

Free States.

State.	Date.
F. Baylies Massachusetts	

TABLE 4.
CHILL.*Slave States.*

State.	Date.
R. Pollard Virginia	1834
J. S. Pendleton Virginia	1841

Free States

State.

Date

Ministers.		
H. Allen Vermont		1823
S. Larned Rhode Island		1825

TABLE 5.

BRAZIL.

State.	Date.
W. Hunter, Rhode Island	1841

TABLE 6.

Charge d' Affaires in America under Pres. Tyler.

W. M. Blackford Va.	1842	New Granada
A. A. Hall Tenn.	1841	Venezuela
J. C. Picket Va.	1838	Peru
J. Eve Ky.	1841	Texas

TABLE 7.

CONGRESS OF PANAMA.

Slave States.

State.	Date.
R. C. Anderson Virginia	1826
J. R. Poinsett South Carolina	1827

Free States.

State.

Date.

J. Sergeant Pennsylvania 1826

It may be not be generally known that the United States, the fundamental principle of whose constitution is liberty, interfered successfully to prevent the emancipation of the laboring population of Cuba. And in this manner, the Spanish South American colonies, which had revolted from the mother country and were still warring for independence, convened the Congress of Panama, chiefly to project the invasion of Cuba which still adhered to Spain, and afforded an excellent rendezvous for her troops and depot for her naval force destined to harass the colonies. The immediate effect of the invasion of that island would have been the enfranchisement of the slaves. This, the South was determined to prevent through the instrumentality of our liberty-loving and free Republic. In a debate in Congress on this subject, Mr. Johnson, of La. said: "We know that Colombia and Mexico have long contemplated the independence of that island, (Cuba.) The final decision is now to be made, and the combination of forces and plan of attack to be formed. What then at such a crisis becomes the duty of the Government? Send your Ministers instantly to this diplomatic assembly, where the measure is maturing. Advise with them—remonstrate—menace if necessary, against a step so dangerous to us and fatal perhaps to them."

The gentlemen above named were appointed Ministers and took with them instructions in which we find the following passage: "The duty," of the United States, "to defend themselves against the contagion of such near and dangerous

examples, would constrain them, even at the hazard of losing the friendship of Columbia and Mexico, to employ all the means necessary to their security." *The interposition of the United States was effectual.* Cuban slavery was preserved.

FREE TERRITORIES.

The gubernatorial chairs of the free territories of the north, as well as of the slave territories of the south, have generally been filled by southern men. During the whole territorial existence of Indiana and Illinois, they were governed by men from slave states. Mr. Dodge, of Missouri, Governor of Wisconsin; Gen. Chambers, of Kentucky, Gov. of Iowa; and Mr. Mason, from Kentucky, was the last acting Governor of the territory of Michigan.

The Chief Justice and Secretary of Wisconsin were in '41 also from slave states.

SECTION IV.

The reflection will naturally occur to any one who may have looked over the previous part of this article, that if the south does reap such a rich harvest of benefit from the Union, it surely contributed more than the north to achieve our national independence. But the obstinate language of figures shows this to be untrue. Neither in money, the sinews of war, nor in men did the south contribute its quota. Of \$11,463,802, the amount at the end of the revolution of the Loan-office debt of the Confederation, the south held only \$99,563, or about one dollar in every eleven and a half. The heavy remainder was held by the north. Of men, the north furnished about seven to its two; and this with a population not much larger.

TABLE I.
Population of the States in 1790.

Slave States	Free States	
Del 59,094	N H 141,885	
Md 319,728	Vt 85,539	
Va 747,610	Mass 378,787	
N C 393,951	R I 68,825	
S C 749,073	Conn 237,946	
Ga 82,548	N Y 340,120	
	N J 184,139	
	Pa 434,373	
		1,871,614
Slaves, 1,852,004		
Free pop. 641,481	Slaves 40,370	
	Free pop. 1,831,244	

TABLE 2.

Troops Continental and Militia, furnished by the respective States during the Revolutionary War.

Slave States.	Cont.	Militia.	Total.
Delaware,	2,317	376	2,693
Maryland,	13,912	4,127	18,039
Virginia,	26,668	5,620	32,288
North Carolina,	7,263	none	7,263
South Carolina,	6,426	none	6,426
Georgia.	2,669	none	2,629
			69,288
States now free	Cont.	Militia	Total
N. Hampshire,	12,496	1993	14,489
Massachusetts,	68,007	15,155	83,162

Rhode Island,	5,908	4,284	10,192
Connecticut,	32,039	7,792	39,831
New York,	18,331	3,304	21,635
New Jersey,	10,726	6,055	1,6781
Pennsylvania,	25,608	7,357	32,965

Sum total, 219,055

SECTION V.

TABLE OF RESULTS.

	South.	North.	Sweden	
Presidents	6	4	Prussia	3 3
Secretaries of State	10	4	Austria	1 2
Judges of S. Court	17	10	Netherlands	5 5
Attorneys General	12	5	Ghent (to negotiate a Treaty)	2 3
Speakers H. Rep.	20	9	Turkey	2 0
Secretaries of War	7	9	Belgium, 2 Sicilies &	
P. M. General	4	7	Sardinia (by Tyler)	3 0
Secretaries Navy	6	8	Mexico	5 1
" Treasury	4	11	Columbia	4 1
Vice Presidents	4	6	Euenos Ayres	2 1
Presidents Senate	50	11	Chili	2 2
Min. and Charge d' Affaires			Brazil	0 1
Great Britain	8	6	Tyler's American charge, d'Affairs	4 0
France	13	7	Panama	2 1
Spain	11	6		
Russia	6	7		
Portugal	5	4		

219 155

I have thus demonstrated that the rulers of slaves in the South are also the rulers of freedom in the North. If we submit longer we shall do so amid the contempt of the world.

SECTION VI.

This Table shows the immense superiority of the free to the slave states, in point of population, Revolutionary exertions, intelligence and wealth. The items referring to the two last-named subjects, have been kindly furnished me by my friend, G. Bailey.

	South.	North.
Free population, 1840,	4,682,788	9,652,240
Free population, 1790,	1,210,520	1,927,884
Troops in Revolution,	69,388	219,055
Newspapers & periodicals in 1840,	470	2,341
Printing offices,	401	1,151
Binderies,	73	374
Agricultural products,	\$522,891,814	\$62,391,157
Manufacturing products,	83,935,742	334,639,690
Mines,	11,510,933	44,244,863
Fisheries,	1,519,198	10,070,725
Products of the forest,	4,849,168	12,677,905
Domestic commerce, capital invested,	142,784,513	248,087,910

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CINCINNATI, O., JUNE, 1843.

[Vol. 1--No. 6

ADDRESS, TO THE NON-SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH.

[CONCLUDED.]

"We long to see the day," said the Governor of Kentucky in his message to the Legislature, 1837, "when the law will assert its majesty and stop the wanton destruction of life which almost daily occurs within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth. MEN SLAUGHTER EACH OTHER WITH ALMOST PERFECT IMPUNITY. A species of common law has grown up in Kentucky which, were it written down, would, in all civilized countries, cause her to be re-christened in derision THE LAND OF BLOOD."

The present Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky* a few years since published an article on the murders in that State. He states that some with whom he had conversed, estimated them at 80 per annum, but that he had rated them at about 30; and that he had ascertained that for the last three years, there had not been "an instance of capital punishment in any white offender." "It is believed," says he, "there are more homicides on an average of two years in any of our more populous counties, than in the whole of several of our States of equal, or nearly equal, population to Kentucky."

Gov. McVay, of Alabama, in his message to the Legislature, November 15th, 1837, thus speaks, "We hear of homicides in different parts of the state continually, and yet have few convictions and still fewer executions! Why do we hear of stabbings and shootings almost daily in some part or other of our state?"

"DEATH BY VIOLENCE.—The moral atmosphere in our State appears to be in a deleterious and sanguinary condition. Almost every exchange paper which reaches us, contains some inhuman and revolting case of murder, or death by violence. Not less than FIFTEEN deaths by violence have occurred, to our certain knowledge, within the past three months."—[Grand Gulf Miss. Advertiser, 27th June, 1837.]

CONTEMPT OF HUMAN LIFE.—In view of the crimes which are daily committed, we are led to inquire whether it is owing to the inefficiency of our laws, or to the manner in which these laws are administered, that this FRIGHTFUL DELUGE OF HUMAN BLOOD FLOWS THROUGH OUR STREETS AND OUR PLACES OF PUBLIC RESORT.—[New Orleans Bee, 23 May 1838.]

At the opening of the Criminal Court in New Orleans, November 4th, 1837, Judge Lonsque delivered an address, in which, speaking of the prevalence of violence, he used the following language:—

"As a Louisianian parent, I reflect with terror, that our beloved children, reared to become one day honorable and useful citizens, may be the victims of these vortices of vice and licentiousness. Without some powerful and certain remedy, our streets will become butcheries overflowing with the blood of our citizens!"

While the slaveholders are terrified at the idea of the "great democratic rabble," and rejoice in human bondage as superceding the necessity of "an order of nobility and all the appendages of a hereditary government," they have established a reign of terror as insurrectionary and as sanguinary in principle as that created by the sans culottes of the French revolution. We indulge in no idle declamation, but speak the words of truth and soberness.

A public meeting convened in the church!! in the town of Clinton, Mississippi, 5th September, 1835—

Resolved, "That it is our decided opinion that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists, any of the incendiary tracts or newspapers now in the course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy, in the sight of God and man, of immediate death—and we doubt not that such would be

the punishment of any such offender, in any part of the State of Mississippi where he may be found."

It would be tedious to copy the numerous resolutions of similar import, passed by public meetings in almost every slave State. You well know that the promoters of those lawless and sanguinary proceedings did not belong to the "rabble"—they were not "inferior whites," but rich, influential slaveholders. A meeting was held in 1835 at Williamsburg, Virginia, which was harangued by no less a personage than JOHN TYLER, recently Governor of the State, and now President of the United States; under this gentleman's auspices, and after his address, the meeting resolved—

"That we regard the printing and circulating within our limits, incendiary publications tending to excite our slaves to insurrection and rebellion, as treasonable acts of the most alarming character, and that when we detect offenders in the fact, we will inflict upon them condign punishment without resorting to any other tribunal."

The prodigality of this resolution needs no comment.—Mr. Tyler well knew that the laws of Virginia, and every other State, were abundantly sufficient to punish crime; but he and his fellow lynchers wished to deter the people from receiving and reading anything adverse to slavery—and hence, with their usual audacity, they determined to usurp the prerogative of courts and juries, and throw down all the bulwarks which the law has erected for the protection of innocence.

Newspapers are regarded as the mirror of public opinion. Let us see what opinions are reflected in those of the South.

The Charleston Courier, 11th August, 1835, declared that "the gallows and the stake" awaited the abolitionists who should dare to "appear in person among us."

"The cry of the whole South should be death, instant death to the abolitionist wherever he is caught."—Augusta (Geo.) Chronicle.

"Let us declare through the public journals of our country, that the question of slavery is not and shall not be open to discussion; that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain forever—that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill."—Columbia (S. C.) Telescope.

This, it will be noticed, is a threat addressed, not to the northern abolitionists, but to you, fellow citizens, to the great majority of the white inhabitants of the South, and you are warned not to express an opinion offensive to your aristocracy.

"AWFUL BUT JUST PUNISHMENT.—We learn by the arrival of the steamboat Kentucky last evening from Richmond, that Robinson, the Englishman mentioned in the Beacon of Saturday as being in the vicinity of Lynchburg, was taken about fifteen miles from that town, and HANGED on the spot for exciting the slaves to insurrection."—Norfolk (Virg.) Beacon, 10th Aug. 1835.

"We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana; they will never return to tell their suffering, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions by being BURNED AT THE STAKE."—New Orleans True American.

"Abolition editors in slave States will not dare to avow their opinions. It would be instant DEATH to them."—Missouri Argus.

Here, again, is a threat directed against you, who may happen to have the command of types and printer's ink.

Now we ask what must be the state of society, where the public journals thus justify and stimulate the public thirst for blood? The very idea of trial is scouted, and the mob, or rather the slaveholders themselves, are ac-

knowledge to be the arbiters of life and death. The question we put to you as to the state of society, has been already answered by the official declarations of the Governors of Kentucky and Alabama, and of Judge Lansau of N. Orleans, as well as by the extracts we have given you from some of the southern journals relative to the frequency of murder among them. We could farther answer it, by filling sheets with accounts of fearful atrocities. But we purposely refrain from referring to assassinations, and private crimes—for such, as already remarked, occur in a greater or less degree in every community, and do not necessarily form a test of the standard of morals. But we ask your attention to a test which cannot be questioned. We will present for your consideration a series of atrocities perpetrated, not by individuals in secret, but in open day by the slaveholding populace.

We have seen that two of the Southern papers we have quoted, threaten abolitionists with THE STAKE. This awful and horrible punishment has been banished by the progress of civilization from the whole of Christendom, with the single exception of the American Slave States. It is scarcely necessary to say, that even in them, it is unknown to the laws, although familiar to the people. It is also deserving of remark, that the two journals which have made this atrocious threat were published not among the rude borderers on our frontier settlements, but in the populous cities of Charleston and New Orleans, the very centres of Southern refinement.

TUSCALOOSA (Alab.) June 20, 1827. The negro (one who had killed a Mr. McNeilly) was taken before a Justice of the Peace, who waived his authority perhaps through fear, as a crowd of persons had collected to the number of seventy or eighty near Mr. People's (the Justice) house. He acted as President of the mob, and put the vote when it was decided he should be immediately executed by being burnt to death. The sable culprit was led to a tree and tied to it, and a large quantity of pine knots collected and placed around him, and the fatal torch applied to the pile, even against the remonstrances of several gentlemen who were present and the miserable being was in a short time buried to ashes. This is the second negro who has been thus put to death without judge or jury in this country."

On the 28th April, 1826, a free negro was arrested in St. Louis (Missour) and committed to jail on a charge of murder. A mob assembled and demanded him of the jailer, who surrendered him. The negro was then chained to a tree a short distance from the Court House and burnt to death.

"After the flames had surrounded their prey, and when his clothes were in a blaze all over him, his eyes burnt out of his head, and his mouth seemingly parched to a cinder, some one in the crowd, more compassionate than the rest, proposed to put an end to his misery by shooting him, when it was replied, that it would be of no use, since he was already out of his pain. 'No' said the wretch. 'I am not, I am suffering as much as ever, shoot me, shoot me.' 'No, no,' said one of the fiends who was standing about the sacrifice they were roasting, 'he shall not be shot, I would sooner slacken the fire, if that would increase his misery' and the man who said this was we understand an officer of justice."—Alton Telegraph.

"We have been informed that the slave William who murdered his master (Huskey) some weeks since was taken by a party a few days since from the Sheriff of Hot Spring and burned alive! yes, tied up to the limb of a tree and a fire built under him, and consumed in a slow lingering torture."—Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 1836.

The Natchez Free Trader, 16th June, 1842 gives a horrible account of the execution of the negro Joseph on the 5th of that month for murder.

"The body," says that paper, "was taken and chained to a tree immediately on the bank of the Mississippi on what is called Union Point. The torches were lighted and placed in the pile. He watched unmoved the curling flame as it grew, until it began to entwine itself around and feed upon his body; then he went forth cries of agony painful to the ear, begging some one to blow his brains out: at the same time surging with almost super-human strength, until the staple with which the chain was fastened to the tree, not being well secured, drew out and he leaped from the burning pile. At that moment the sharp ring of several rifles was heard, and the body of the negro fell a corpse to the ground. He was picked up by two or three, and again

thrown into the fire and consumed.

ANOTHER NEGRO BURNED.—We learn from the clerk of the Highlander that while wooding a short distance below the mouth of red river they were invited to stop a short time and see another negro burned."—[New Orleans Bulletin.

Thus we see that burning negroes alive is treated as a spectacle, and strangers are invited to witness it. The victim of this exhibition was the negro Enoch, said to have been an accomplice of Joseph, and was burned a few days after the other.

VIII.—DISREGARD OF CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

Governor McDuffie in his speech of 1834, to the South Carolina Legislature, characterized the Federal Constitution as "that miserable mockery of blurred, and obliterated, and tattered parchment." Judging from their conduct, the slaveholders, while fully concurring with the Governor in his contempt for the national parchment, have quite as little respect for their own State Constitution and Laws.

The "tattered parchment" of which Mr. McDuffie speaks, declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states." Art. IV. Sec. 2. Notwithstanding this express provision, there are in almost every slave State, if not in all, laws for seizing, imprisoning, and then selling as slaves for life, citizens having black or yellow complexions, entering within their borders. This is done under pretence that the individuals are supposed to be fugitives from bondage. When circumstances forbid such a supposition, other devices are adopted for nullifying the provision we have quoted. By a law of Louisiana, every free negro or mulatto arriving on board any vessel as a *mariner* or passenger, shall be immediately imprisoned till the departure of the vessel, when he is to be compelled to depart in her. If such free negro or mulatto returns to the State, he is to be imprisoned for five years.

The jailor of Savannah some time since reported TEN STEWARDS as being in his custody. These were free citizens of other States, deprived of their liberty solely on account of the complexion their Maker had given them, and in direct violation of the express language of the Federal Constitution. If any free negro or mulatto enters the State of Mississippi for any cause however urgent, any white citizen may cause him to be punished by the sheriff with thirty-nine lashes, and if he does not immediately thereafter leave the state, he is SOLD AS A SLAVE.

In Maryland a free negro or mulatto, coming into the state, is fined \$20, and if he returns he is fined \$500, and on default of payment, is sold AS A SLAVE. Truly indeed, have the slaveholders rendered the constitution a blurred, obliterated, and tattered parchment. But whenever this same constitution can, by the grossest perversion, be made instrumental in upholding and perpetuating human bondage, then it acquires for the time a marvellous sanctity in their eyes, and they are seized with a holy indignation at the very suspicion of its profanation.

The readiness with which southern Governors prefer the most false and audacious claims under color of Constitutional authority, exhibits a state

of society; in which truth and honor are but little respected.

In 1833, seventeen slaves effected their escape from Virginia in a boat, and finally reached New York. To recover their slaves as such, a judicial investigation in New York would be necessary, and the various claimants would be required to prove their property. A more convenient mode presented itself. The Governor of Virginia made a requisition on the executive of New York for them as fugitive felons, and on this requisition a warrant was issued for their arrest and surrender. The pretended felony was stealing the boat in which they had escaped.

In 1839, a slave escaped from Virginia on board of a vessel bound to New York. It was *suspected* but without a particle of proof, that some of the crew had favored his escape, and immediately the master made oath that three of the sailors naming them, had feloniously *stolen* the slave; and the Governor, well knowing there was no slave-market in New York, and that no man could there be held in slavery, had the hardihood to demand the surrender of the mariners on the charge of grand larceny; and in his correspondence with the governor of New York, declared the slave was worth six or seven hundred dollars, and remarked that *stealing* was "recognized as a CRIME by all laws human and divine."

In 1841, a female slave, belonging to a man named Flournoy, in Georgia, was discovered on board a vessel about to sail for New York, and was recovered by her master. It was afterwards supposed from the woman's story, that she had been induced by one of the passengers to attempt her escape. Whereupon Flournoy made oath that John Greenman did feloniously *steal* his slave. But the Governor of New York had already refused to surrender citizens of his state on a charge so palpably false and absurd. It was therefore deemed necessary to trump up a very different charge against the accused; and hence, Flournoy made a second affidavit, that John Greenman did *feloniously steal and take away three blankets, two shawls, three frocks, one pair of earrings, and two finger-rings, the property of deponent*. Armed with these affidavits, the Governor demanded the surrender of Greenman under the Constitution. Not an intimation was given by His Excellency when he made the demand, of the real facts of the case, which in a subsequent correspondence he was compelled to admit. It turned out that the woman instead of being stolen, went voluntarily, and no doubt joyfully, on board the vessel; and that the wearing apparel, &c., were the clothes and ornaments worn by her; nor was there a pretence that Greenman had touched them or ever had them in his possession.

In 1838, Mr. John B. Mahan, a Methodist preacher residing in Ohio, was reported to have given aid and shelter to fugitive slaves from Kentucky, and forthwith the Grand Jury of Mason county, in that State, indicted him as being "late of the County of Mason," for aiding two slaves in making their escape from said county. On the strength of this indictment, Governor Clark of Kentucky issued his requisition on the Governor of Ohio, wherein he stated that the said Ma-

han "*has fled from justice and is now going at large in the State of Ohio*;" and that by virtue of the authority vested in him by the "Constitution and laws of the United States, he did demand the said John B. Mahan, as a fugitive from the justice of the laws of this State." On this requisition Mahan was seized, carried into Kentucky, put in irons, and kept in prison as a felon for about ten weeks, when, after a trial which lasted six days, he was acquitted by the jury. Now it was a matter of notoriety, and admitted by the prosecution, that Mahan had not been in Kentucky for about *twenty years!!* Yet day after day was spent in endeavors to procure the conviction of a man who had committed no offence against the laws of the State, and whose person had been seized in consequence of a gross fraud and a palpable and acknowledged falsehood. But how happened it, that the slaveholders permitted their prey to escape? Fortunately for Mahan, the Governor of Ohio, after surrendering him, discovered the imposition that had been practised, and officially informed the Governor of Kentucky that he could not consent that a citizen of Ohio should be taken to another State and tried for an offence not committed within her jurisdiction. The publication of this letter drew the attention of the community to the infamous outrage that had been practised. If after this, Mahan had been lynched, or even judicially punished, a controversy would have arisen between the two States which would necessarily have given new strength and influence to the anti-slavery cause.

But perhaps the most insolent attempt yet made to pervert the Federal Constitution to the support of slavery, was the expedient devised in Alabama to muzzle the northern press. An article appeared in a newspaper published in New York, in 1835, which gave offence to certain planters in that State, and forthwith a grand jury on their oaths indicted the New York publisher, "*late of the County of Tuscaloosa*," for endeavoring to excite insurrection among the slaves by circulating a seditious paper; and on this indictment the Governor had the impudence to make a formal requisition for the surrender of the publisher as a *fugitive from justice*. although he had never breathed the air of Alabama.

We have said that the slaveholders hold their own laws and constitution in the same contempt as those of the Federal Government, whenever they conflict with the security and permanency of slavery. One of the most inestimable of constitutional privileges is TRIAL BY JURY; and this, as we have seen, is trampled under foot with impunity, at the mandate of the slaveholders. Even JOHN TYLER, as it appears, is for inflicting summary punishment on abolitionists by a Lynch club, "without resorting to any other tribunal." We proceed to inquire how far they respect the liberty of speech and of the press.

IX. LIBERTY OF SPEECH.

The whole nation has witnessed the successful efforts of the slaveholders in Congress, by their various gag resolutions, and through the aid of recreant northern politicians, to destroy all freedom of debate adverse to "the peculiar institution." They are themselves ready to dwell in

debate on the charms of human bondage; but when a member takes the other side of the question, then indeed he is out of order, the Constitution is outraged, the Union is endangered. We all know the violent threats which have been used to intimidate the friends of human rights from expressing their sentiments in the national legislature. "As long," says Governor McDuffie to the South Carolina Legislature, "as long as the halls of Congress shall be open to the discussion of this question, we can have neither peace nor security." The *Charleston Mercury* is on this subject very high authority; and in 1837 its editor announced that "Public opinion in the south would now, we are sure, justify an immediate resort to FORCE by the southern delegation, even on the FLOOR OF CONGRESS, were they forthwith to SEIZE AND DRAG FROM THE HALL ANY man who dared to insult them, as that eccentric old showman, John Quincy Adams, has dared to do."

When so much malignity is manifested against the freedom of speech in the very sanctuary of American liberty, it is not to be supposed that it will be tolerated in the house of bondage. We have already quoted a southern paper which declares that the moment "any private individual attempts to lecture us on the evils and immorality of slavery, that very moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill."

In Marion College, Missouri, there appeared some symptoms of anti-slavery feeling among the students. A Lynch club assembled, and the Rev. Dr. Ely, one of the professors, appeared before them, and denounced abolition, and submitted a series of resolutions passed by the faculty, and among them the following: "We do hereby forbid all discussions and public meetings among the students upon the subject of domestic slavery." The Lynchers were pacified, and neither tore down the college nor hung up the professors; but before separating they resolved that they would oppose the elevation to office of any man entertaining abolition sentiments, and would withhold their countenance and support from every such member of the community. Indeed, it is obvious to any person attentive to the movements of the south, that the slaveholders dread domestic far more than foreign interference with their darling system. They dread *you*, fellow citizens, and they dread converts among themselves.

X. LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The Constitutions of all the slave states guarantee, in the most solemn and explicit terms, the liberty of the Press; but it is well understood that there is one exception to its otherwise unbounded license—Property in human flesh is too sacred to be assailed by the press. The attributes of the Deity may be discussed, but not the master. The characters of public, and even of private men, may be vilified at pleasure, provided no reproach is flung upon the slaveholder.—Every abuse in Church and State may be ferreted out and exposed, except the cruelties practised upon the slave, unless when they happen to exceed the ordinary standard of cruelty established by general usage. Every measure of policy may be advocated except that of free labor; every ques-

tion of right may be examined except that of a man to himself; every dogma in theology may be propagated except that of the sinfulness of the slave code. The very instant the press ventures beyond its prescribed limits, the constitutional barriers erected for its protection sink into the dust, and a censorship, the more stern and vindictive from being illegal, crushes it into submission. The midnight burglary perpetrated upon the Charleston Post Office, and the conflagration of the anti-slavery papers found in it, are well known. These papers had been sent to distinguished citizens, but it was deemed inexpedient to permit them to read facts and arguments against slavery. Pains will be taken to prevent *you* from reading this address, and vast pains have been taken to keep slaveholders as well others ignorant of every fact and argument that militates against the system. Hence Mr. Calhoun's famous bill, authorizing every southern postmaster to abstract from the mails every paper relating to slavery. Hence the insane efforts constantly made to expurgate the literature of the world of all recognition of the rights of black men. Novels, annuals, poems, and histories, containing sentiments hostile to human bondage, are proscribed at the south, and northern publishers have had the extreme baseness to publish mutilated editions for the southern market.*

In some of the slave States laws have been passed establishing a censorship of the press for the exclusive and special benefit of the slaveholders. Some time since an anti-slavery pamphlet was mailed at New York, directed to a gentleman in Virginia. Presently a letter was received from William Wilson, Postmaster at Lexington, Virg.; dated June 17, 1836, saying,

"I have to advise you that a law passed at the last session of the Legislature of this State, which took effect on the first day of this month, makes it the duty of the postmasters or their assistants to report to some magistrate (under a penalty of from \$50 to \$200,) the receipt of all such publications at his office; and if on examination the magistrate is of opinion they come under the provision of the law, it is his duty to have them BURNED in his presence—which operation was performed on the above-mentioned pamphlet this morning."

The Rev. Robert Breckenridge, a well-known zealous opponent of abolition, edited, in 1835, "The Baltimore Religious Magazine." A number of this magazine contained an article from a correspondent, entitled "Bible Slavery." The tone of this article not suiting the slave-breeders of Petersburg (Virg.) the subscribers were deprived of the number forwarded to them through the post office of that town. The magazines were taken from the office, and on the 8th May, 1836, were burnt in the street, before the door of the public reading-room, in the presence and by the direction of the Mayor and Recorder!!

It is surely unnecessary to remark, that this Virginia law is in contemptuous violation of the Constitution of Virginia, and of the authority of the Federal Government. The act of Congress requires each postmaster to deliver the papers which come to his office to the persons to whom they are directed, and they require him to take an oath to fulfil his duty. The Virginia law imposes duties on an officer over whom they have no control, utterly at variance with his oath, and the obligations under which he assumed the office. If the postmaster must select, under a heavy penalty, for a public bonfire, all papers bearing on slavery, why may he not be hereafter re-

* The Harpers, of New York, in reply to a letter from the south complaining of the anti-slavery sentiments in a book they had recently published, stated, "since the receipt of your letter we have published an edition of the 'Woods and Fields' in which the offensive matter has been omitted."

quired to select for the same late all papers hostile to Popery? Yet similar laws are now in force in various slave states.

Not only is this espionage exercised over the mail, but measures are taken to keep the community in ignorance of what is passing abroad in relation to slavery, and what opinions are elsewhere held respecting it.

On the 1st of August, 1842, an interesting address was delivered in Massachusetts, by the late Dr. Channing, in relation to West India emancipation, embracing, as was natural and proper, reflections on American slavery. This address was copied into a New York weekly paper, and the number containing it was offered for sale as usual by the agent of the periodical in Charleston. Instantly the agent was prosecuted by the South Carolina Association, and was held to bail in the sum of \$1,000, to answer for his crime. Presently after, this same agent received for sale a supply of "Dickens' Notes on the United States," but having before his eyes the fear of the slaveholders, he gave notice in the newspapers, that the book would "be submitted to highly intelligent members of the South Carolina Association for inspection, and if the sale is approved by them it will be for sale—if not, not." And so the population of one of the largest cities of the slave region were not permitted to read a book they were all burning with impatience to see, till the volume had been first inspected by a self-constituted board of censors! The slaveholders, however, were in this instance afraid to put their power to the test—the people might have rebelled if forbidden to read the "Notes," and hence one of the most powerful, effective anti-slavery tracts yet issued from the press was permitted to be circulated, because people would read what Dickens had written. Surely, fellow-citizens, you will not accuse us of slander when we say that the slaveholders have abolished among you the liberty of the press. Remember the assertion of the editor of the Missouri Argus: "Abolition editors in the slave states will not dare to avow their opinions: it will be INSTANT DEATH to them."

XI. MILITARY WEAKNESS.

A distinguished foreigner, after travelling in the southern states, remarked, that the very aspect of the country bore testimony to the temerity of the nullifiers, who, defenceless and exposed as they are, could not dare to hazard a civil war; and surely no people in the world have more cause to shrink from an appeal to arms. We find at the south no one element of military strength. Slavery, as we have seen, checks the progress of population, of the arts, of enterprise, and of industry. But above all, the laboring class, which in other countries afford the materials of which armies are composed, are regarded among you as your most deadly foes; and the sight of a thousand negroes with arms in their hands, would send a thrill of terror through the stoutest hearts, and excite a panic which no number of the veteran troops of Europe could produce. Even now, there are laws in force to keep arms out of the hands of a population which ought to be your reliance in danger, but which is your dread by day and night, in peace and in war.

During our revolutionary war, when the idea of negro emancipation had scarcely entered the imagination of any of our citizens—when there were no "frantic abolitionists," no "incendiary publications," no "treasonable" anti-slavery associations; in those palmy days of slavery, no small portion of the southern militia were withdrawn from the defence of the country to protect the slaveholders from the vengeance of their own bondmen! This you would be assured was abolition slander, were not the fact recorded in the national archives. The Secret Journal of

Congress (Vol. 1., pa. 105,) contains the following remarkable and instructive record:

"March 29th, 1779.

The committee appointed to take into consideration the circumstances of the southern states, and the ways and means for their safety and defence, report, that the State of South Carolina [as represented by the delegates of said State, and by Mr Huger, who has come hither at the request of the Governor of said State, on purpose to explain the particular circumstances thereof,] is UNABLE to make any effectual efforts with the militia, by reason of the great proportion of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy. That the state of the country, and the great number of these people among them, expose the inhabitants to great danger from the endeavors of the enemy to excite them to revolt or desert."

At the first census, in 1790, eleven years after this report, and when the slaves had unquestionably increased their numbers, they were only 107,094 fewer than the whites. If, then, these slaves exposed their masters "to great danger," and the militia of South Carolina were obliged to *stay at home* to protect their families, not from the foreign invaders, but the domestic enemies, what would be the condition of the little blustering nullifying State, with a foreign army on her shores, and 335,000 slaves ready to aid it, while her own white population, *militia* and all, is but as "two whites to three blacks?"

You well know the slaveholders, in answer to the abolitionists, are wont to boast of the fidelity and attachment of their slaves; and you also well know, that among themselves they freely avow their dread of these same faithful and attached slaves, and are fertile in expedients to guard against their vengeance.

It is natural that we should fear those whom we are conscious of having deeply injured, and all history and experience testify that fear is a cruel passion. Hence the shocking severity with which, in all slave countries, attempts to shake off an unrighteous yoke are punished. So late even as 1822, certain slaves in Charleston were *suspected* of an *intention* to rise and assert their freedom. No overt act was committed, but certain blacks were found who professed to testify against their fellows, and some, it is said, confessed their intentions.

On this ensued one of the most horrible butcheries on record. It is not deemed necessary, in the chivalrous Palmetto State, to give grand and petit juries the trouble of indicting and trying slaves, even when their lives are at stake. A court consisting of two Justices of the Peace and five freeholders was convened for the trial of the accused, and the following were the results of their labors:

July 2	6	hanged
" 12	2	do
" 26	22	do
" 30	4	do
August 9	1	do
Total	35	do

Now, let it be remembered that this sacrifice of human life was made by one of the lowest tribunals in the State; a tribunal consisting of two petty magistrates and five freeholders, appointed for the occasion, not possessing a judicial rank, nor

professing to be learned in the law; in short, a tribunal which would not be trusted to decide the title to an acre of ground—we refer not to the individuals composing the court, but to the court itself;—a court which has not power to take away the land of a white man, hangs black men by dozens!

Listen to the confessions of the slave-holders with regard to their happy dependants; the men who are so contented under the patriarchal system, and whose condition might well excite the envy of northern laborers, "the great democratic rabble."

Governor Hayne, in his message of 1833, warned the South Carolina Legislature that "a state of military preparation must always be with us a state of perfect domestic security. A profound peace, and consequent apathy, may expose us to the danger of domestic insurrection." So it seems the happy slaves are to be kept from insurrection by a state of military preparation. We have seen that during the revolutionary war the Carolina militia were kept at home watching the slaves, instead of meeting the British in the field; but now it seems the same task awaits the militia in a season of profound peace. Another South Carolinian* admonishes his countrymen thus; "Let it never be forgotten that our negroes are truly the Jacobins of the country; that they are the anarchists, and the domestic enemy, the common enemy of civilized society, and the barbarians who would, if they could, become the destroyers of our race."

Again "Hatred to the whites with the exception, in some cases, of attachment to the person and family of the master, is nearly universal among the black population. We have then a foe cherished in our very bosoms—a foe WILLING TO DRAW OUR LIFE-BLOOD whenever the opportunity is offered; in the mean time intent on doing us all the mischief in his power."—*S. R. Telegraph*.

In a debate in the Kentucky Legislature, in 1841, Mr. Harding opposed the repeal of the law prohibiting the importation of slaves from other states, and looking forward to the time when the blacks would greatly outnumber the whites, exclaimed,

"In such a state of things suppose an insurrection of the slaves to take place. The master has become timid and fearful, the slave bold and daring—the white men, overpowered with a sense of superior numbers on the part of the slaves, cannot be embodied together; every man must guard his own hearth and fireside. No man would even dare for an hour to leave his own habitation; if he did, he would expect on his return to find his wife and children massacred. But the slaves, with but little more than the shadow of opposition before them, armed with the consciousness of superior force and superior numbers on their side, animated with the hope of liberty, and maddened with the spirit of revenge, embody themselves in every neighborhood and furiously march over the country, visiting every neighborhood with all the horrors of civil war and blood-

shed. And thus the yoke will be transferred from the black to the white man, and the master fall a bleeding victim to his own slave."

Such are the terrific visions which are constantly presenting themselves to the affrighted imaginations of the slave-holders; such the character which among themselves they attribute to their own domestics.

Attend to one more, and that one an extraordinary confession:

"We of the south are emphatically surrounded by a dangerous class of beings—degraded and stupid savages, who if they could but once entertain the idea, that immediate and unconditional death would not be their portion, would react the St. Domingo tragedy. But a consciousness, with all their stupidity, that a ten-fold force, superior in discipline, *not barbarity*, would gather from the four corners of the United States, and slaughter them, keeps them in subjection. But to the non-slave-holding States particularly, are we indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection. Without their assistance the white population of the south would be too weak to quiet the innate desire for liberty which is ever ready to act itself out with every rational creature."

Maysville Intelligencer.

And now we ask you, fellow citizens, if all these declarations and confessions be true, and who can doubt it, what must be your inevitable condition should your soil be invaded by a foreign foe, bearing the standard of EMANCIPATION?

In perfect accordance with the above confession that to the non-slaveholding States, the south is indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection, Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, uttered those pregnant words in a debate in 1842, in Congress, "THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION WILL BE THE DISSOLUTION OF SLAVERY."

The action of the Federal Government is, we know, controlled by the slave interest; and what testimony does that action bear to the military weakness of the south? Let the reports of its high functionaries answer.

The Secretary of War, in his report for 1842, remarked, "The works intended for the more remote southern portion of our territory, particularly require attention. Indications are already made of designs of the worst character against that region in the event of hostilities from a certain quarter, to which we cannot be insensible." The Secretary's fears had been evidently excited by the organization of black regiments in the British West Indies, and the threats of certain English writers that a war between the two countries would result in the liberation of the slaves. The report from the Quarter Master, General Jessup, a southern man, betrays the same anxiety, and in less ambiguous terms: "In the event of a war," says he, "with either of the great European powers possessing colonies in the West Indies, there would be danger of the peninsula being occupied by BLACKS from the islands. A proper regard for the security of our Southern States requires that prompt and efficient measures be adopted to prevent such a state of things." The Secretary of the Navy, a slaveholder, hints his fears

* The author of "A Refutation of the Calumnies insinuated against the South and Western States."

in cautious circumlocution. Speaking of the event of a war with any considerable maritime power, he says, "It would be a war of incursions aimed at *revolution*. The first blow would be struck at us through our *institutions*;" he means of course, "the peculiar institution." He then proceeds to show that the enemy would seek success "in arraying what are supposed to be the hostile elements of our *social system* against each other;" and he admits, that "even in the best event war on our own soil would be the more expensive; the more embarrassing and the more HORRIBLE in its effects by compelling us at the same time to oppose an enemy in the field, *and to guard* against all attempts to subvert our social system." In plain language, an invading enemy would strike the first blow at the slave system, and thus aim at revolution,—a revolution that would give liberty to two and a half millions of human beings; and that such a war would be very embarrassing to the slaveholders, and the more horrible, because, as formerly in South Carolina, a large share of their military force would necessarily be employed not in fighting the enemy, but in guarding the SOCIAL, that is, the "patriarchal system."

Think not we are disposed to ridicule the fears of the slaveholders, or to question their personal courage. God knows their perils are real, and not imaginary; and who can question, that with a hostile *British* army in the heart of Virginia or Alabama, the whole slave region would presently become one vast scene of horror and desolation. Heretofore the invaders of our soil were themselves interested in slave property: now they would be zealous emancipationists, and they would be accompanied by the most terrific vision which could meet the eye of the slaveholder, regiments of *black troops*, fully equipped and disciplined. Surely such a state of things might well appal the bravest heart, and palsy the stoutest arm. But, fellow-citizens, what, in such a catastrophe, would be your condition. Your fate and that of your wives and children would then be linked to that of your lordly neighbors. One indiscriminate ruin would await you all. But you may avert these accumulated horrors. You may change two and a half millions of domestic and implacable enemies into faithful friends and generous protectors. No sooner shall the negroes cease to be oppressed, than they will cease to hate. The planters of Jamaica were formerly as much afraid of their slaves, as your planters now are of theirs. But the Jamaica slaves, now free-men, are no longer dreaded; on the contrary, they form the chief military force of the island, and should a foreign foe attack it, would be found its willing and devoted defenders. It rests with you to relieve your country of its most dangerous enemy, to render it invulnerable to foreign assaults, and to dissipate that fearful anticipation of wrath and tribulation which now broods over and oppresses the mind of every white who resides in a slave country.

We have called your attention to the practical influence of slavery on various points deeply affecting your prosperity and happiness. These are:

1. Increase of population.
2. State of education.
3. Industry and enterprise.
4. Feeling towards the laboring classes.
5. State of religion.
6. State of morals.
7. Disregard for human life.
8. Disregard for constitutional obligations.
9. Liberty of speech.
10. Liberty of the press.
11. Military weakness.

You will surely agree with us, that in many particulars, the States to which you belong are sunk far below the ordinary condition of civilized nations. The slaveholders, in their littleness and idleness, in their contempt for the laws, in their submission to illegal and ferocious violence, in their voluntary surrender of their constitutional rights, and above all in their disregard for human life, and their cruelty in taking it, are, as a civilized and professedly a Christian community, without a parallel, unless possibly among some of the anarchical States of South America, or in the kindred republic of Texas.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

If, fellow-citizens, with all the natural and political advantages we have enumerated, your progress is still downward, and has been so, compared with the other section of the country, since the first organizations of the Government, what are the anticipations of the distant future, which sober reflection authorizes you to form? The causes which now retard the increase of your population must continue to operate, so long as slavery lasts. Emigrants from the north and from foreign countries, will, as at present, avoid your borders; within which no attractions will be found for virtue and industry. On the other hand, many of the young and enterprising among you will flee from the lassitude, the anarchy, the wretchedness engendered by slavery, and seek their fortunes in lands where law affords protection, and where labor is honored and rewarded.

In the meantime, especially in the cotton States, the slaves will continue to increase in a ratio far beyond the whites, and will at length acquire a fearful preponderance.

At the first census, in every slave State there was a very large majority of whites—now, the slaves outnumber the whites in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, and the next census will unquestionably add Florida and Alabama, and probably Georgia, to the number of negro States.

And think you that this is the country, and this the age, in which the republican maxim that the MAJORITY must govern, can be long and barbarously reversed. Think you that the majority of the PEOPLE in the cotton States, cheered and encouraged as they will be by the sympathy of the world, and the example of the West Indies, will for ever tamely submit to be the beasts of burden for a few lordly planters? And remember, we pray you, that the number and physical strength of the negroes will increase in a much greater ratio than that of their masters.

In 1790 the whites in N. Carolina were to the slaves as

		2,80 to 1, now as 1,97 to 1.
do	S. Carolina,	do 1,31 to 1, do .70 to 1.
do	Georgia,	do 1,76 to 1, do 1,44 to 1.
do	Tennessee,	do 13,75 to 1, do 3,49 to 1.
do	Kentucky,	do 5,16 to 1, do 3,23 to 1.

Maryland and Virginia, the great breeding States, have reduced their stock within the last ten years, having been tempted by high prices, to ship off thousands and tens of thousands to the markets of Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. But these markets are already glutted, and human flesh has fallen in value from 50 to 75 per cent. Nor is it probable that the great staple of Virginia and Maryland will hereafter afford a bounty on its production. In these States, slave labor is unprofitable, and the bondman is of but little value, save as an article of exportation. The cotton cultivation in the East Indies, by cheapening the article, will close the markets in the South, and thus it guarantees the abolition of slavery in the breeding States. When it shall be found no longer profitable to raise slaves for the market, the stock on hand will be driven south and sold for what it will fetch, and free labor substituted in its place. This process will be attended with results disastrous to the cotton States. To Virginia, and Maryland, it will open a new era of industry, prosperity and wealth; and the industrious poor, the "mean whites" of the south, will remove within their borders, thus leaving the slaveholders more defenceless than ever. But while the white population of the south will be thus diminished, its number of slaves will be increased by the addition of the stock from the breeding States.

And what, fellow-citizens, will be the condition of such of you as shall then remain in the slave States? The change to which we have referred will necessarily aggravate every present evil. Ignorance, vice, idleness, lawless violence, dread of insurrection, anarchy, and a haughty and vindictive aristocracy will all combine with augmented energy in crushing you to the earth. And from what quarter do you look for redemption?—Think you your planting nobility will ever grant freedom to their serfs from sentiments of piety or patriotism. Remember that your clergy of all sects and ranks, many of them "Christian brokers in the trade of blood" unite in bestowing their benedictions on the system as a *Christian* institution, and teaching the slaveholders that they wield the whip as European monarchs the sceptre, "by the grace of God." Do you trust to their patriotism? Remember that the beautiful and affecting contrast between the prosperity of the north and the desolation of the south, already presented to you, was drawn by W. C. Preston, of *hanging* notoriety. No, fellow-citizens, your great slaveholders have no idea of surrendering the personal importance and the political influence they derive from their slaves. Your Calhouns, Clays,* and Prestons, all go for everlasting slavery.

*A. Mr. Clay's view may be interesting to his northern friends, we present them with the following NOTICEAU:—"If the question were submitted, whether there should be immediate or gradual emancipation of the slaves in the U. States, without their removal, painful as it is to express the opinion, I have no doubt that it will be unwise to emancipate them."—Speech before Col. Ecocety.

Let, then, your first demand be for **LIBERTY OF SPEECH**. Your constitution and laws guarantee to you this right in the most solemn and explicit terms; and yet you have permitted a few slaveholders to rob you of it. Resume it at once. Be not afraid to speak openly of your wrongs, and of the true cause of them. Dread not the Lynch clubs. Their power depends on opinion. The slaveholders are not strong enough to execute their own sentences, if you resist them.

By conversing freely among yourselves, and proclaiming your hostility to slavery, in public meetings, you will create an influence that will soon reach the Press. The bands with which the slaveholders have bound this Leviathan will then be snapped asunder. Once establish a **FREE PRESS**, and the fate of slavery is sealed. Such a press will advocate your rights, will encourage education and industry, will point out the true cause of the depravation of morals, the prevalence of violence, and the depression of the public welfare.

Having gained the liberty of speech and of the press, you will go on conquering and to conquer. Political action on your part will lead to new triumphs. The State legislatures and the public offices will no longer be the exclusive patrimony of the holders of slaves. Having once obtained a footing in your legislative halls, you will have secured in a quiet, peaceable, constitutional mode, the downfall of slavery, the recovery of your rights, and the prosperity and happiness of your country.

A glorious career opens before you. In the place of your present contempt, and degradation, and misery—honor, and wealth, and happiness, court your acceptance. By abolishing slavery, you will become the architects of your own fortune, and of your country's greatness. The times are propitious for the great achievement. You will be cheered by the approbation of your own consciences, and by the plaudits of mankind. The institution which oppresses you is suffering from the decrepitude of age, and is the scorn and loathing of the world. Out of the slave region, patriots and philanthropists, and Christians of every name and sect, abhor and execrate it. Do you pant for liberty and equality more substantial than such as is now found only in your obliterated and tattered bills of right—do you ask that your children may be rescued from the ignorance and irreligion to which they are now doomed, and that avenues may be opened for you and for them to honest and profitable employment? Then unite, we beseech you, with one heart and one mind for the legal constitutional abolition of slavery. The enemy is waxing faint and losing his courage. He is terrified by the echo of his own threats, and the very proposal to dissolve the Union and leave him to his fate, throws him into paroxysms. The north, so long submissive to his mandates and awed by his insolence, laughs at his impotent rage, and all his hopes now rest upon a few profligate politicians whom he purchases with his votes, while their baseness excites his contempt, and their principles his fears. Now is the time, fellow-citizens, to assail the foe. Up, quit yourselves like men, and may Almighty God direct and bless your efforts!

By order of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
LEWIS TAPPAN, Secretary.

Persons, not subscribers, receiving this publication regularly, are informed that it is sent to them at the request of their personal friends—and that they will receive it free of cost.—D

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FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"PROVE ALL THINGS."

New Series.]

CINCINNATI, O., AUGUST, 1843.

[Vol. I.—No. 8.]

Letter from the Hon. John Quincy Adams.

The following letter from Mr. Adams, was read on the occasion of the recent celebration of West India Emancipation in this city:—

ASA WALKER, C. A. STACKPOLE, and F. M. SABINE, Esqrs.—Committee of Correspondence of a meeting of the citizens of Bangor and its vicinity, holden on the 27th of May, 1843.

Quincy, 4th July, 1843.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

I have received your letter of the 9th ult., and, perhaps, in answering it, my safest and most prudent course would be to express my regret, that the precarious state of my health, and particularly of my voice, would not warrant me in undertaking an engagement to deliver a public address upon any subject whatever, on the first day of next August. This answer I have been most reluctantly constrained to give to several other kind invitations to address the people on various subjects, in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn. But the occasion of which you propose to celebrate the anniversary, is viewed in lights so entirely different and opposite to each other, that it cannot be denied to have assumed both a religious and a political aspect, and this must be my apology, while returning my thanks for your friendly invitation, for frankly unfolding to you other reasons which would have dictated to me the same conclusion, even if the state of my health admitted of my compliance with it.

The extinction of SLAVERY from the face of the earth, is a problem, moral, political, religious, which at this moment rocks the foundations of human society throughout the regions of civilized man. It is, indeed, nothing more nor less than the consummation of the Christian religion. It is only as *immortal* beings that all mankind can in any sense be said to be born equal—and when the Declaration of Independence affirms as a self-evident truth, that all men are born equal, it is precisely the same as if the affirmation had been that all men are born with immortal souls. For take away from man his soul, the immortal spirit that is within him, and he would be a mere tameable beast of the field, and like others of his kind, would become the property of his master. Hence it is, too, that by the law of nature and of God, man can never be made the property of man.—And herein consists the fallacy with which the holders of slaves often delude themselves, by assuming that the test of property is human law.—The soul of one man cannot by human law be made the property of another. The owner of a slave is the owner of a living corpse; but he is not the owner of a man.

The natural equality of mankind affirmed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence to be held by them as self-evident truth, was not so held by their enemies. It was not so held by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. They held the reverse. They held that sovereign power was unlimited. That the tie of allegiance bound the subject to implicit obedience, and, therefore, that the natural equality of mankind was a fable. This was the question of the American Revolutionary War. In the progress of that war, France, Spain, and the United Netherlands became involved in it. The Governments of France and Spain, absolute monarchies, had no sympathies with the American cause—the rights of human nature. Vergennes had plotted with Gustavus of Sweden, the revolution in Sweden, from liberty to despotism. Turgot, very shortly before the surrender of Burgoyne, but after our Declaration of Independence, had formally advised Louis the Sixteenth, that it was for the interest of France and Spain, that the insurrection in the Anglo-American colonies should be suppressed.—France and Spain had been warned of the remote consequences to them as owners of colonies, of the success of the Anglo-Americans. But neither Turgot nor Vergennes, nor any one European or American statesman of that age, foresaw or imagined what would be the consequence, by no means remote, upon their own Governments at home, of the dismemberment of the British Empire, and the triumphant establishment, by a seven years' war on the continent of North America, of an Anglo-Saxon confederate nation, on the foundation of the natural equality of mankind, and the inalienable rights of man.

After Louis the Sixteenth lost his crown, he remembered and bitterly repented the part he had taken on the side of the natural equality of mankind, and the rights of human nature in the American Revolutionary War. For the revolution in France, by which he lost his throne and his life, was another fruit of the same self-evident truth, that all men are born equal, and have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, without infringing upon the same right of all other men.

Until the day of the Declaration of Independence, the condition of slavery was recognized as lawful in all the English colonies. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, established three years after the Declaration of Independence, adopted its self-evident truths, and the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, under that Constitution, judicially decided that slavery within the Commonwealth was thereby *ipso facto* abolished. Since that day, there has not been a slave within the State.

The author of the Declaration of Independence was a slaveholder. His self-evident truths taught

him, that slave-holding was an outrage upon the natural rights of mankind, at least as great as Parliamentary taxation without representation. He held that opinion to his dying day. He introduced it into his draught of the Declaration of Independence itself, imputing the existence of slavery in Virginia, to George the Third, as one of the crimes which proved him to be a tyrant unfit to rule over a free people.

Among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, there were at least twenty slaveholders—or probably thirty. They could not stomach this application of the self-evident truths to themselves, and they lopped it off as an unsightly excrescence upon the Tree of Liberty. But his grandson and executor has carefully preserved it in the double form of print and fac simile, in the edition which he has published of his writings, and there it stands, an unanswerable testimonial to posterity, that in the roll of American Abolitionists, first and foremost after the name of George Washington, is that of *Thomas Jefferson*.

The result of the North American revolutionary war had prepared the minds of the people of the British Islands to contemplate with calm composure the new principle engrafted upon the association of the civilized race of man, the self-evident truth, the natural equality of mankind and the rights of man. They had waged against it a cruel and disastrous war of seven years. Hundreds of thousands of valiant Britons had fallen victims,—hundreds of millions of British treasure had been squandered, to sustain the principle of illimitable sovereignty against the principle of illimitable human rights. The prize of the conflict was the liberty and the immortal soul of man. The contest was over between Britain and her children. The Lord of Hosts had decided the wager of battle. Human liberty was triumphant, and a new confederation entered upon the field of human affairs, with the Urim and Thummim of the Law from Sinai. "Light and Right," inscribed upon her bosom, and upon the diadem around her brow "Holiness to the Lord."

But while this contest had been in progress, both of intellectual conflict and of mortal combat, the same question of human right against lawless power had been started in the land of both combatants, parties to this controversy. The question of the American revolution had been of political government in the relations of sovereign and subject. Anthony Benezet, a native of France, settled in Pennsylvania, a member of the Society of Friends, and Granville Sharp, an English philanthropist, at London, were at the same time blowing the bugle horn of human liberty and the natural equality of mankind, against the institution of slavery practiced from time immemorial by all nations, ancient and modern.

There were two modes of slavery which had crept in upon the relations of mankind to one another, first as the result of war, by the right of conquest, and secondly, by the voluntary servitude of the feudal system. They had both become odious, by the silent progress of Christianity. The practice of enslaving enemies taken in war, had already ceased between Christian nations. The traffic in slaves had been denounced

by the popular writers both of France and England—by Locke, Addison, and Sterne, as well as by Raynal, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. It was every where odious, but everywhere practiced, till just after the close of the American revolutionary war arose the cry for the abolition of the African slave trade. The first assault of the Reformers was upon the trade, which was prosecuted with such atrocious cruelty, that the mere narrative of its ordinary details excited disgust and horror.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity," saith Shakespeare, and "in the day of adversity consider," saith yet higher authority. In the summer of 1783, when the results of the revolutionary war presented themselves to the people of the British Islands, in the darkest form of adversity, they had, and they improved the opportunity, of considering the principle for which, and the principle against which they had so obstinately and fiercely contended. Their warfare had been against the self-evident truth of human rights. Thomas Clarkson, a member of the Society of Friends, with two or three other Englishmen, associated themselves together with the purpose of arraying the power of the British Empire for the total abolition of slavery throughout the earth; and the commission with which they went forth to regenerate the race of man, by leading captivity captive, was the same identical, self-evident truth against which Britain had just closed her relentless war, in humiliation and defeat.—She was now to make this identical principle the inscription upon her banners—to war against slavery for the natural rights of mankind, and to proclaim the jubilee shout of liberty throughout the land—throughout the globe.

Of that undertaking, Clarkson himself has written the history. He has shown in what small beginnings it commenced,—by what slow and almost imperceptible progress it advanced,—by what interests, prejudices and passions it was perpetually obstructed. How many years it was before it could obtain admission to the hall of legislation in the British House of Commons. How, in the mean time, it had been silently making its way to the hearts of the British people. How many struggles of argument and of eloquence it had to encounter, before it could lay prostrate all opposition at its feet—and how this emanation of the Christian faith, after waiting eighteen hundred years for its development, came down at last like a mighty flood, and is even now under the red cross of St. George, overflowing the white cliffs of Albion, and sweeping the slave trade and slavery from the face of the terraqueous globe.

People of that renowned Island! children of the land of our forefathers, proceed—proceed in this glorious career, till the whole earth shall be redeemed from the greatest curse that has ever afflicted the human race—proceed, until millions upon millions of your brethren of the human race, restored to the rights with which they were endowed by your and their Creator, but of which they have been robbed by ruffians of their own race, shall send their choral shouts of redemption to the skies in blessings upon your names: Oh! with what pungent mortification and shame must

I confess, that in the transcendent glories of that day, our names will not be associated with yours! May Heaven in mercy grant that we may be spared the deeper damnation of seeing our names recorded, not among the liberators, but with the oppressors of mankind.

Fellow citizens! the first impulse of the regeneration of human liberty came from us—the Fourth of July is our anniversary day. Then was the principle proclaimed to the world as that which was to be the vital spark of our existence as a community among the nations of the earth. This is the brightness of our glory, and of this we cannot be bereaved. But how can we presume to share in the festivities and unite in the songs of triumph of the first of August!—Have we emancipated our slaves? Have we mulcted ourselves in a hundred millions of dollars, to persuade and prevail upon the man-stealer to relinquish his grasp upon his prey? Have we encompassed sea and land, and sounded the clarion of freedom to the four ends of Heaven, to break the chain of slavery in the four quarters of the earth? Has the unctious of our eloquence moved the bowels of compassion of the holy pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, to give his commands to his Christian flock against slavery and the slave trade? Have we softened the heart of the fiery Mussulman of Tunis, the follower of the war-denouncing prophet of Mecca, to proclaim liberty throughout his land? Are we carrying into Hindostan the inexpressible blessings of emancipation? Are we bursting open the everlasting gates, and overlapping the walls of China, to introduce into that benighted empire in one concentrated sunbeam, the light of civil and of Christian liberty? Oh no, my countrymen!—No! nothing of all this! Instead of all this, are we not suffering our own hands to be manacled, and our own feet to be fettered with the chains of slavery? Is it not enough to be told that by a fraudulent perversion of language in the Constitution of the United States, we have falsified the Constitution itself, by admitting into both the Legislative and Executive departments of the Government, an overwhelming representation of one species of *property* to the exclusion of all others, and that the odious property in slaves!

Is it not enough, that by this exclusive privilege of property—representation confined to one section of the country, an irresistible ascendancy in the action of the General Government has been secured, not indeed to that section, but to an oligarchy of slave-holders in that section—to the cruel oppressor of the poor in that same section itself! Is it not enough that by the operation of this radical iniquity in the organization of the Government, an immense disproportion of all offices, from the highest to the lowest, civil, military, naval, Executive and Judicial, are held by slave-holders? Have we not seen the sacred right of petition totally suppressed for the people of the free States during a succession of years, and is it not yet inexorably suppressed? Have we not seen for the last twenty years, the Constitution and solemn treaties with foreign nations, trampled on by cruel oppression and lawless imprisonment of colored mariners in the Southern

States, in cold-blooded defiance of a solemn adjudication by a Southern judge in the Circuit Court of the Union? And is this not enough? Have not the people of the free States been required to renounce for their citizens the right of habeas corpus and trial by jury, and to coerce that base surrender of the only practical security to all personal rights! Have not the slave-breeders, by State legislation, subjected to fine and imprisonment, the colored citizens of the free States, for merely coming within their jurisdiction? Have we not tamely submitted, for years, to the daily violation of the freedom of the post-office and of the press, by a committee of seal-breakers: and have we not seen a sworn Post-Master General, formally avow, that though he could not license this cut-purse protection of the peculiar institutions, the perpetrators of this highway robbery must justify themselves by the plea of necessity? And has the pillory or the penitentiary been the reward of that Post-Master General? Have we not seen printing presses destroyed—halls erected for the promotion of human freedom levelled with the dust, and consumed by fire, and wanton, unprovoked murder perpetrated with impunity, by slave-mongers! Have we not seen human beings, made in the likeness of God, and endowed with immortal souls, burnt at the stake, not for their offences but for their color! Are not the journals of our Senate disgraced by resolutions calling for war, to indemnify the slave pirates of the Enterprise and the Creole, for the self-emancipation of their slaves, and to inflict vengeance, by a death of torture, upon the heroic self-deliverance of Madison Washington? Have we not been fifteen years plotting rebellion against our neighbor Republic of Mexico, for abolishing slavery throughout all her provinces? Have we not aided and abetted one of her provinces in insurrection against her for that cause? And have we not invaded openly, and sword in hand, another of her provinces, and all to effect her dismemberment and to add ten more slave States to our confederacy? Has the cry of war for the conquest of Mexico, for the expansion of re-instituted slavery, for the robbery of priests, and the plunder of religious establishments yet subsided?—Have the pettifoggings, hair-splitting, nonsensical, and yet inflammatory bickerings about the right of search, pandering to the thirst for revenge in France, panting for war to prostrate the disputed title of her being—has the sound of this war-trumpet yet faded away upon our ears? Has the supreme and unparalleled absurdity of stipulating by treaty to keep a squadron of eighty guns for five years, without intermission, upon the coast of Africa, to suppress the African slave trade, and at the same time denying at the point of the bayonet, the right of that squadron to board or examine any slaver all but sinking under a cargo of victims, if she but hoist a foreign flag—has this diplomatic bone been yet picked clean? Or is our *indirect* participation in the African slave trade to be protected at whatever expense of blood and treasure? Is the Supreme Executive Chief of this Commonwealth yet to speak not for himself, but for her whole people, and pledge them to shoulder their muskets, and to endorse their

knap-sacks against the fanatical, non-resistant abolitionists, whenever the overseers may please to raise the bloody flag, with the swindling watchword of the Union! Oh! my friends! I have not the heart to join in the festivity on the first of August, the British anniversary of disenfranchised humanity, while all this, and infinitely more that I could tell—but that I would spare the blushes of my country—weigh down my spirits, with the uncertainty, sinking into my grave as I am, whether she is doomed to be numbered among the first liberators or the last oppressors of the race of immortal man.

Let the long trodden-down African, restored by the cheering voice and Christian hand of Britain, to his primitive right and condition of manhood, clap his hands and shout for joy on the anniversary of the first of August. Let the lordly Briton strip off much of his pride on other days of the year, and reserve it all for the pride of conscious beneficence on that day. What lover of classical learning can read the account in Livy or in Plutarch, of the restoration to freedom of the Grecian cities by the Roman Consul Flaminius, without feeling his bosom heave and his blood flow cheerfully in his veins! The heart leaps with sympathy when we read, that on the first proclamation by the herald, the immense assembled multitude in the tumult of astonishment and joy, could scarcely believe their own ears—that they called back the herald and made him repeat the proclamation, and then—“*Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse.*” Then rang the welkin with long and redoubled shouts of exultation, clearly proving that of all the enjoyments accessible to the hearts of men, nothing is so delightful to them as Liberty.”

Upwards of two thousand years have revolved since that day, and the first of August is to the Briton of this age, what the day of the proclamation of Flaminius was to the ancient Roman. Yes—let them celebrate the first of August as the day to them of deliverance and of glory—and leave to us the pleasant employment of commenting upon their motives, of devising means to shelter the African slave from their search, and squandering millions to support on a pestilential coast a squadron of the stripes and stars, with instructions sooner to scuttle their ships than to molest the pirate-slaver who shall make his flag-staff the herald of a lie.

Apologising to you, gentlemen, for the length of this letter, I will close it with an ejaculation to Heaven, that you may live to substitute for the first of August, the day when slavery shall be proclaimed a word without a meaning in all the languages of the earth, and when the power of emancipation shall be extinguished in Universal Freedom. To share in the jubilant chorus of that day, if my voice could burst from the ceremonies of the tomb, it should be to shout Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! let the earth rejoice and be glad!

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Facts!—Facts!!

The following is part of a valuable Address to the Voters of the Second Congressional District of Ohio:

Not contented with the powerful and salaried offices, the Slaveholders have legislated the contents of the national Treasury into their pockets.

Wherever there has been a surplus for Distribution of the Public monies, slaveholders have insisted on receiving not only their proper share but a large *bonus* for their property in negroes.— Said they “you have allowed us to send twenty-five men to Congress to represent our negro property and because you did that you must give us some millions of money.” In vain did northern men protest privately against this impudent claim; in vain did they represent to the slaveholders that they, too, might, with the same propriety, claim to have a share for their property in Mills, Manufactories, Ships and Horses; and that the grant by the north of a representation for the slave population did not bind the north to give them, in addition, all the money they wanted.— The “two hundred thousand” were inexorable. What could the northern Congressmen do? If they resisted, the hue and cry of ‘abolition’ would be raised on them, a fair hearing denied them, and their political hopes blighted. This was the reasoning of most but not of all of them, for there were some who ran with great alacrity to do the dirty work assigned them by southern gentlemen. So the rule of Distribution on the basis of the ratio of Representation instead of free population, insisted on by southern arrogance and submitted to by northern timidity, was adopted. By its operation, the slave states received millions of dollars, on account of their negro property, under the LOAN or SURPLUS REVENUE Bill of 1836-7. They received for each free person about 27 cents; the free states about 18.— South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, whose free population is less than that of Pennsylvania, received an apportionment of nearly twice as much money as that state did, under this act.

Their share was,	-	-	-	6,754,588
Pennsylvania's,	-	-	-	3,823,343

The hard-fisted farmers of the free states will not submit to such robbery under sanction of law. They will not do double duty for half-pay. Five-sixths of the national Revenue come from their hard earnings, for the Tariffs tax heavily the articles of common consumption among them, while they admit almost duty free the “negro-cloths” and the wines and silks and other luxuries of the masters. Hence the deep-dye of the iniquity of this rule of Distribution.

But this is not the only occasion on which southern fingers have been rapaciously thrust into the national coffers. In 1840-1, Congress passed an act for the DISTRIBUTION of the proceeds of the PUBLIC LANDS, among the several states. Slave property was again favored. The ratio of Representation was again preferred to free population as the basis of Distribution. The consequence is to New York, that of every three millions of dollars which the United States receives from

said sales, the Slave holders cheat her out of \$43,721; her present portion for each three millions being \$456,636, whereas on the basis of free population, it would have been \$500,357.—Whigs who voted for this law, should cease to din in our ears their claims to be considered the champions of Northern Rights; and Democrats, who voted for either of them, should cease to prate against "Sectional Legislation." We prefer deeds to impudent assertions.

The *fifteen millions* expended in purchasing LOUISIANA have been made to enure to the benefit of the Slave-Power. This result was not foreseen at the time of the purchase; for then it was intended that Louisiana should be divided into free states. With this view, Congress prohibited the introduction of slaves for sale into that Territory.—This enactment was trodden under foot by the rising Slave-Power and the fifteen millions may now be considered a tax on the country for the extension of negro bondage.

But the *five millions* paid for FLORIDA were avowedly paid to strengthen slavery in Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. Slaves would escape from those states into Florida, which belonged to a nation at profound peace with us. Before purchasing, however, the Slaveholders tried force. A portion of the United States Army, under their direction, made in 1816 a sudden hostile descent on Florida and killed two hundred and seventy negroes and Indians at a farming settlement on the Apalachicola. But the slaves would run away in spite of bomb-shells and grape shot, and it was necessary to own the country that the whole might be scoured in their pursuit. So, a year or two after this invasion of the Territory of a friendly power, the Slaveholders took *five millions* out of the Federal purse to buy it, as a hunting ground for negroes.

The purchase money, however, is a small item of the amount paid by Government to break up this rendezvous for absconding slaves. Some *fifty millions* have been expended in the celebrated "blood-hound war," undertaken for this purpose. The Seminoles refused, as England, France and all civilized nations do, to surrender negroes to persons claiming them as slaves. The enraged masters endeavored, at first, to right themselves, but soon tiring under the burdensome expence, called on a slave-holding Executive to punish the boundless audacity of a weak Indian tribe. In 1834, they forwarded a petition to Gen. Jackson, (which may be found in Doc. 271, 1st Sess. 24th Cong.) praying him to send an army against the Seminoles.

"While this lawless and indomitable people, (says the petition,) continue where they now are, the owners of slaves in our territory and even in the states contiguous, cannot for a moment, in any thing like security, enjoy the possession of *this description of property.*"

The Tallahassee slaveholders resolved in 1839, during the armistice with the Indians, that they should be driven out, for "if located in Florida, all the runaway negroes will find refuge and protection with them."

To drive them out, then, was the object of the war, and the Government was reduced to bank-

ruptcy by its mighty efforts against a few Indians. The laurels won have been equally divided between Mr. Van Buren and the Cuban auxiliaries. A few more wars like this will teach northern men to bring forward again the almost forgotten doctrine, that the chief object of the Federal Government is *not* to strengthen slavery.

Add to the sums given above, the *half million* of dollars *annually* paid by the north to support Post Offices in the Slave-States. The receipts from these, last year, fell short of the expenses, more than *five hundred and seventy one thousand* dollars; while the receipts from northern Post offices exceeded the expenses about six hundred thousand dollars. This amount pays for the convenience of planters who own large tracts of land populated only by their slaves and themselves.—The postage of the newspapers which serve to amuse these gentlemen in their elegant retirement, is paid for by northern men. Some eight or ten cents of the twenty five paid by a northern farmer for a letter go for this purpose.

Another pecuniary burden imposed on non-slave holders by the Slave Power is the heavy discriminating tax of the Haytian Government, on vessels from the United States. Hayti is a negro Republic, forty years old. Her Independence has long been recognized by all the Governments of the civilized world, with the exception of the United States. This national insult, Hayti has avenged by a tax on our vessels so heavy as almost to exclude our merchants from her ports. Still, their trade with her has amounted to more than a million of dollars annually; but, oppressed by the heavy duties, they leave again and again petitioned our government to recognise her Independence. Each petition has drawn upon them torrents of abuse from Slave-holding Congressmen. Mr. Legare denounced them as "TRAITORS not only to their country but to the whole human race." This was the answer to a petition of northern men to be free from an useless tax, imposed on them by the swelling pride of slave holders; and northern democrats stood tamely by without a word, and Whigs trembled at the hardihood of one or two of their number who raised their voices in feeble opposition to the unbridled insolence and coarse vituperation of members of the "sacred band."

But there is a small portion of the "two hundred thousand" who claim to be *jure divino* the special pets of Government,—we mean the sugar planters. Some few years ago, these men, who number, we believe, between one and two thousand, found out, that if Government would only impose a duty on foreign sugar of about 60 per cent., *ad valorem*, they could sell theirs at a good profit. So the Louisiana Legislature, and a Sugar Planters' Convention memorialized Congress on the subject. Their wishes were promptly complied with, as a matter of course. Congress laid a duty on foreign sugar so heavy that the little knot of Louisiana planters now add safely about two and a half cents a pound to the price of theirs.—The Slave-Power taxes our letters and the sugar on our breakfast tables;—what will it lay hands on next?

Those of you who will take the trouble to procure the different TARIFF enactments, will find

that they have been quiet u. ctive instruments for making Non-slaveholders pay the revenues of the Government. This has been done by *high* impost duties on articles of non-slaveholding, and *low* ones on those of slaveholding consumption. Masters have procured, almost duty free, wines and silks for themselves, and coarse clothing for their negroes. We might go into details on this subject, but our limits forbid it. The ingenuity of this contrivance for draining the pockets of non-slaveholders, or rather of exempting slaveholders from the payment of taxes, will attract you to the investigation.

The Tariff act of 1816 was the progeny of Slaveholding financiers. Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, reported the Bill; Mr. J. C. Calhoun spoke in its favor and the slave-state delegation, generally voted for it. Some ignorant and unsuspecting men, believing every body as good as themselves, have supposed that this Bill was designed to protect Northern manufactures, which had grown up during the war. Not so, however. The latest biographer of the eminent statesman, Mr. Calhoun, defining his position in relation to this Tariff Act, says page 18, "It has been the general impression that the duties were adjusted by the bill mainly in reference to the protection of manufactures. Such is far from being the fact. With the exception of a few items"

* * "the duties would have been arranged substantially as they were, if there had not been a *manufacturing establishment* in the country."—What then was the object of the framers of this Act?

The biographer adds that it was "regulated in its details" "by revenue considerations." What these "revenue considerations" were may be gathered from the history of the times. The war had left the government laboring under a heavy debt, and the revenue to pay the interest and principal of this debt was raised by direct taxation under the rule in the Federal Constitution. Under the operation of this rule, the slave States would have had to pay some millions annually on account of their slave-property. It was to rid themselves of this burden that they demanded a Tariff policy. Under it, the revenue would come from northern purses. The policy was adopted and the broad and patient back of the North received the burden so adroitly transferred. It compelled the capitalists of the free States to withdraw their capital from commerce, and invest it in manufactures. The "carrying trade" conducted solely by Yankee enterprise was nearly annihilated. The ships lay rotting at the wharves, and the discharged sailors clamored for employment. But Free Labor soon accommodated itself to the new National Policy; mill-streams and "water-privileges" were made the sources of wealth; neat manufacturing villages dotted the land, and the noise of the loom and click of the hammer told of an industrious and prosperous people. This condition of affairs was viewed with a baleful eye by the Slave-power, and the paying off the national debt in the administration of Gen. Jackson, was the signal for slaveholding denunciation of a Tariff, as unconstitutional and oppressive. The North contended against its abolition as it had done a-

gainst its creation. But the blustering of slaveholders ushered into life the celebrated compromise Act. John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay officiated at the birth. This Act has smitten the industrial interests of the North as with a palsy. Northern manufactures withered with the gradual reduction of the duties. Foreign merchandize in immense quantities was imported into the country; our precious metals disappeared rapidly, and the result of the fluctuating policy demanded by the Slave-Power may now be read in dilapidated manufacturing towns, broken merchants, beggared States, and the records of bankrupt Courts.

The United States Bank was, like the Tariff policy, erected and crushed by the Slave-Power.—It was recommended by President Madison, advocated by John C. Calhoun, voted for by Southern men; and put down by President Jackson and his supporters. And when under its State charter, it did finally explode, there were due to it from the slave States twenty-seven millions of bad debts. The fortunes of hundred of Philadelphia families have gone to build slave State rail roads.

Many other instances of changes in national policy might be given, that have borne oppressively on the pecuniary interests of Free Labor, but the above we deem enough to attract your attention to the subject. The same legislation can never be suitable to States differing so widely in all their institutions, political and social, as the Slave and Free States.

The Federal Government has acquired and attempted to acquire, ceded and offered to cede, territory at the bidding of the Slave-Power.

The Slave-Power bade her surrender Louisiana recently acquired and it was done; to buy Florida, and it was done; to acquire Texas, and she strove for years to do it. First, she offered, in 1829, four millions of dollars for it; but as Mexico refused to dismember her territory, our Slaveholding Executive and his successor, "the Northern man with Southern Principles" sought for years for a plausible pretence for war with that republic, that we might wrest Texas from her hands. The Slave-Power bade her cede to England, a vast tract of country in Maine, and it was done; offer to cede, under President Monroe, to the same Government a part of Oregon five times as large as Ohio; and it was done.

We have mentioned above some of the injuries to our pecuniary interests resulting from the trickery of the legislation of the Slave-power; there are others of equal magnitude, the offspring of Slavery itself. Oppression of the laborer is branded with the curse of a just God. It throws a mildew blight on the prosperity of any State guilty of it. It retards population by forcing the emigration, and discouraging the immigration of the poor free laborer; it cripples manufacturing enterprise, impoverishes the soil by a wasteful agriculture, and begets habits of extravagance among the people. No slaveholding community can long pay its debts. Hence, the periodical monetary distress of the South. Every few years sees her prostrate. So often has this been the case, that Northern men have almost learned not to trust the paper promises of the slaveholder.—

The New York merchants demand of him now cash or the best security. Bitter experience has taught them prudence. Heavy losses have made them wise. Some of these merchants have estimated the loss of the free States for the last twenty years in Southern trade, at 200 millions. Many of you are now the creditors of southern gentlemen, one half of whom will, probably, never be able to pay you.

And here permit us to digress to make one reflection. What an uncalculable gain would it be to us, were the planting States cultivated by free laborers! Now, the master spends about fifteen dollars a year for the slaves' subsistence; then, each laborer, and their numbers would greatly increase, would expend a hundred on himself and family. Our haters, shoemakers, coopers, calico-venders, weavers, wool-growers, wheat-growers, and hog-raisers would find a ready sale for their various articles. Gold would, then, "flow up the Mississippi."

Although the heavy hand of the Slave-Power is laid on each and every interest of Free Labor to wither and destroy, we are denied the right to remonstrate.

When the attention of freemen was aroused, some nine years since, to the doings of the slaveholding aristocracy in our republic, and editors began to write, and pamphleteers to print about them, the whole "two hundred thousand" were thrown into a violent rage. They caught all the disaffected within their borders, banished them or inflicted on them the most cruel punishment; offered large rewards for certain northern citizens, "dead or alive;" called on the Free States to suppress free discussion, on peril of a dissolution of the Union; and on the Federal Government to prohibit the circulation through the mails of any paper containing a word against their peculiar system of Aristocracy. And when these undaunted freemen respectfully petitioned Congress for a "redress of grievances," nothing could stand before their fury—not even the Sacred Constitution itself, which one of their greatest men called "a miserable, tattered and spotted parchment mockery." At a single blow, they struck down the right of petition. They would have no complaining against their iron rule. Though they had ridden and beaten the North at their own pleasure, they refused it the poor privilege of Balaam's ass—of murmuring when struck. While the slaveholders storm, Northern Representatives looked on and trembled, and afterwards (Hon. J. B. Weller, among them,) voted, most of them, as they were ordered. They have been kept well drilled ever since.

A short time ago, Mr. Giddings had the boldness to offer in the Lower House, some resolutions, not very palatable to the Slaveholders.—They determined to drive him from the House as a warning to all other members from the North not to whisper against slavery; but, by the Rules of the House, they could not themselves introduce immediately the resolutions of censure. A northern man was to be selected; and in looking about for a suitable person to do the work, they found him in our honorable representative, Mr. Weller.

Mr. W. did their bidding promptly and they returned their thanks through Mr. Botts. Mr. Giddings was, of course, censured.

But a greater evil than clique-rule, pecuniary losses and gag-laws is that we are living down the fundamental principles of our Republic. Established to promote Liberty, it has been perverted to extend and perpetuate slavery. The genial rays of Freedom have been exchanged for the lurid glare of despotism. The stripes on the national banner are daily widening and may shortly cover up the stars. The Slave-Power, once so weak that infant Freedom might have strangled it, now in its giant strength, seizes the purse and sword of a Free Republic, stamps on its tattered Constitution and hurls with ease the champions of Freedom to the dust. The heart sickens at the melancholy contrast between America now and America in '76 and '87. Then, Congress declared that "the rights contended for by the American colonies were the rights of human nature;" that they were rights which no man could alienate; Washington published that it was "among his first wishes" to have slavery "abolished by law" and that his "suffrage should never be wanting;" Jefferson and Madison denounced slavery as "the foul blot on our country's escutcheon;" and sought its abolition in Virginia; such men as Jay, Franklin, Hamilton, Witherspoon, Rush, Morris, Wilson and Wythe were officers or active members of abolition Societies; the States followed each other, in rapid succession, in the glorious work of emancipation; Congress abolished slavery forever in the North Western Territory, forbade the introduction of slaves for sale into the Louisiana; denounced the African Slave trade as piracy; and the recognition of its existence was avoided, as far as possible, in the Constitution. All men expected soon to see the last fetter on the last slave in our free Union.

Now, the inalienableness of human liberty is ridiculed as a "rhetorical flourish;" the hellish doctrines of tyranny are openly advocated; to oppress the laborer seems to be almost a necessary qualification for office; slavery of the laboring population is extended over seven new slave states; over the District of Columbia and the Territory of Florida; the clanking of chains and the groans and cries of separated families mingle under the walls of the Capitol with the frothy and hypocritical declamation in favor of human freedom of eloquent Congressmen; the African Slave Trade flourishes in its horrible activity; the unpalliated contradiction between our professions and practice is making us a hissing and a byword through the civilized world; the press is shackled and freedom of speech trampled down; friends of human liberty travel, at the peril of their lives, through thirteen states of the Union; and every citizen holds his house and property at the will of a lawless and capricious mob held in leash by the Slave-Power. Our hearts bleed at the contemplation of this wide spread ruin in our beloved land, and we have pledged ourselves and ours, on the altar of our country's honor, to defeat the Slave Power. We shall triumph. Truth and humanity are our allies. The voices of our dead fathers cheer us on. The blood they freely spilled for the rights

of man cries to us from the battle stained fields it consecrates, to be up and doing. The graves of those noble men, who perilled all for liberty and bleached not in the hour that tried men's souls, stir us to emulate their energy. We shall prove that we inherit the spirit as well as the names of our ancestors; and moved by that spirit, we declare that the world shall not long bear the clanking of chains on the fields of our Revolutionary glory or taunt the freemen of this Republic with a basely slavish submission to an idle and overbearing aristocracy.

But while we loath from our inmost souls that aristocracy, we shall discourage the use of unconstitutional means to prostrate it. In all we do, we shall stand fast by the Constitution of our fathers. We thank God, it is well fitted to secure the rights we contend for. Under its protection, the Liberty men in the Slave States will labor for the recovery of their rights and the abolition of Slavery; in the Free States, for the repeal of oppressive laws dictated by the Slave-Power; and, in the whole Union, to exclude the disturbing force of slavery from the action of the Government; to secure a permanent policy on the subject of the Tariff and Currency; to abolish Sectional Legislation; to vindicate the right of petition; to restore impartiality to the Executive and Judiciary; to promote the interest and secure the rights of the free laborer; to open the market of the world to his productions; to prevent lavish expenditures of the national monies for the support of the state institution of Slavery; to abolish that institution in the national domains, Florida and the District of Columbia; and to restore to its original brightness the tarnished honor of our Republic, by making it what its founders designed it to be, the freest Government in the World.

The best and only means to effect these objects, is a separate political organization. Should we endeavor to effect them through the instrumentality of the Whig or of the Democratic party, we should deserve the contempt of sensible men.—The leaders of these parties are either slaveholders or pledged to the Slave Power; this power has grown to its present giant size by their assistance; neither of them adopt our measures or avow our principles; and our principles and ourselves have been abused in the most unmeasured terms by their principal editors and leaders. Human ingenuity has been racked to slander us, and the English language exhausted of its abusive epithets for our denunciation. They have been our openly avowed enemies through the whole country.—It is true that in a few sections of the Free States, some of the less prominent Whigs have sought our votes for their candidate when he was hard pressed by his adversary and have made us many flattering speeches. But we decline bringing our principles and ourselves into contempt by reposing confidence in the promises of men who are

not able to redeem them. The impudence of these petty politicians awakens our indignation. They would have us vote for worse men than Adams, Giddings and Gates (denounced by their own party for favoring us too much,) who voted for a slaveholding speaker of the House of Representatives, for most of the partial laws of which we complain, and who could scarcely muster courage enough to vote for the right of petition, although bound by their *official oath* not to *abridge* it. And because a few Whig Congressmen have not violated a solemn oath to please slave holders, they ask us to sustain the Whig party!! A party, the embodiment of whose principles is Henry Clay, a member of the aristocracy against which we war; the father of Slavery in Missouri and Arkansas; a liver on the unpaid toil of sixty laborers; a man who has declared himself opposed "to any scheme of emancipation, gradual or immediate;" and who, in the Senate in 1839, and in Indiana in 1842, denounced us in the bitterest language. Should we support him or the Whigs who sustain him, we should indeed be the most forgiving as well as the most stupidly inconsistent of the human race.

The issue of this number of the Facts having been unavoidably delayed, we shall be under the necessity of having the next number succeed it very soon. We wish to have it circulated by the middle of next month. There will be much interesting matter in it, for general circulation. Those who wish an extra number of copies for gratuitous distribution, had better forward their orders forthwith. We have now upwards of four thousand subscribers, and the list is steadily increasing.

Postage.

At pages 36 and 37, of a little book, entitled "Laws, Instructions and Forms, for the Regulation of the Post Office Department," printed by the Post Master General, are the following

"Periodical pamphlets and newspapers, when mailed, are subject to the following rates, viz:

"Carried not over 100 miles, per copy, 1 cent.
"Do. over 100 miles, do. 2 1/2 cents.

"Act of 1825, Sec. 30.

"Pamphlets printed on less than a whole sheet of paper, of a size larger than *royal*, are to be charged with the postage on a full sheet.

"But, if they be printed on the half or the fourth of a sheet of paper, not greater than *royal*, they are to be charged with half the postage on a full sheet.

"Act of 1827, sec. 5."

Such is the law. Our publication is a periodical pamphlet, printed on a *half sheet royal*, and subject, therefore, to the following rates of postage:

Carried not over 100 miles— $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent,
" over 100 miles—1 1/4 cent.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"PROVE ALL THINGS."

New Series.]

CINCINNATI, O., SEPT. 1843.

[Vol. 1--No. 9.

Markets for Free Labor--Hayti.

Just as we were about commencing an exposition of our relations with Hayti, we noticed in the Cincinnati Gazette an article calling attention to the fact, that General Duff Green is figuring in England as a sort of unofficial agent of the administration, and doing what he can to advance the interests of tobacco, rice, &c., at the expense of the grain-growers of the West. A week or two since, we exposed this meddling personage and his mission, to our readers. And in this connection we will just remind them, that when Colonel Todd of Kentucky, was appointed as minister to the Court of Austria, it was gravely announced in a slave-state paper, that he went out *as the representative of the Tobacco interest!* Austria is an absolute monarchy; Hayti is a republic. Our commerce with the former is scarcely so important as that with the latter. And yet to the court of Vienna we must send a minister plenipotentiary, with an outfit of 9000 dollars, and a salary per annum, of 9000 dollars, while we have not even a consular agent to protect our interests at Hayti. But, what of this? Why should not the grain-growers of the West pay a minister plenipotentiary for representing the interests of Tobacco? Were they not made to be hewers of wood and drawers of water?

Why are these things kept back from the people? Why is the press dumb? Ask the Whig and Democratic parties which control, with few exceptions, the secular newspapers of the country. But, to our subject.

On the 19th of November, 1802, the surrender of the remnant of the last invading army of the French, established, beyond doubt, the independence of Hayti. This independence was achieved as ours had been, through revolution. But, so far from sympathizing with the new republic, our Government showed the utmost unfriendliness towards it. "Twelve years after slavery had been abolished by a decree of the French Government, after the expulsion of the armies of England and France; when for three years, not a hostile foot had pressed the soil of Hayti; when a regularly organized Government was in full operation; and without one solitary cause of complaint against the new State; the American Congress passed an act, (28th February, 1806,) to suspend the commercial intercourse between the United States and certain parts of the Island of St. Domingo. These certain parts were defined in the act, to be such parts as were *not* in the possession and under the acknowledgement of France; and of course included the whole island."

To say nothing of the meanness of this act, it was a severe blow at our mercantile and farming interests, inflicted merely to gratify the hatred of the slaveholders against the revolutionists.

Hayti is the second island of importance in the West Indian Archipelago. Its population in 1790 was 680,000. Now it is over a million.—Its trade is of more value than all the West Indies besides, excepting Cuba. Its climate is delightful, its soil rich and diversified; and, with

any attention on the part of our government, it would have afforded one of the very best markets for our bread stuffs, provisions, and manufactures. The late revolution will, doubtless, by elevating the mass, develop still more the resources of the island, and make her commerce an object of additional importance.

The following tables show the amount of our trade with Hayti at different periods.

	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.
1835.....	\$1,815,812	\$2,347,055
1839.....	991,365	1,377,989
1840.....	945,365	1,252,824

There are but nine Powers with whom our trade is more valuable than it was with Hayti in 1835—they are England, France, the Hanse towns, Holland, Cuba, the British American Colonies, Mexico, Brazil and China. It was then, of more importance, than our trade is now with the fifty seven other countries with which we exchange. Even now, it is more valuable by far than our commerce with most of the nations of Europe.

But why has our trade with Hayti steadily fallen off? Because of the stubborn refusal of the American Government to recognize her independence and establish commercial relations with her—a course of policy in which we stand alone among the Powers of Christendom. At Berlin we must have a Minister Plenipotentiary, though our trade with Prussia in 1840, consisted of imports to the value of \$59,304, and exports to the amount of \$86,468. But at Hayti we have not even a consul, or an official agent of any kind. The Sandwich Islands we were prompt in recognizing, insignificant as they are; and the independence of Texas we acknowledged, while as yet it was uncertain whether she could maintain it. The Haytian authorities, justly resenting this conduct, have imposed heavy discriminating duties on our commerce, burdensome tonnage duties and vexatious port charges, so that France and England are gradually monopolizing her markets.

In addition to this, we have claims for indemnity against that government, which it will not recognize or consider, till we acknowledge its independence, and treat it as a member of the family of nations.

There is a kind of unaccredited agent from this country, or was one in 1838, residing at Aux Cayes. We extract a few paragraphs from a letter of his published in the Journal of Commerce, dated *Port-au-Prince, Haiti, September 24, 1838.*

"The Haitian Government consider themselves so much aggrieved by the United States having no accredited agent here, that they wish for no communication with any agent unless he brings a letter from Washington with his commission."

"If through my representation and exertions, this letter from the Secretary of State can be obtained, it would give me a great deal of interest here, and by and by I may obtain a further reduction of duties in our favor, particularly as most of the exports from this country are admitted duty free, viz: coffee, mahogany and logwood."

"Mr. Boyer, in my interview with him, told me that all he wished from the American Government was this:—That the Secretary of State should address an official letter to the Secretary General of Haiti, informing him of my appointment. As soon as this was done, I should receive my exequatue, the President said, and that the ten per cent. additional duty now charged on vessels of all nations which have not accredited agents, would immediately be removed from ours, and the trade placed on the same footing as other nations. No formal recognition by Congress, was asked for, he told me."

"If the American Government comply with President Boyer's wish, it would be the means of greatly increasing the present intercourse, the value of which even now, with so many and great obstacles thrown in the way, must be of some consequence, as many of our vessels are engaged in it still. These obstacles would be removed, and every possible facility given. Our domestic goods could then come into market, and we could undersell the shippers from England."

"You can imagine the extent of the supply of these articles for a population of 900,000 (now probably 1,200,000, as it was 935,000 in 1824), whose wants as the progress of civilization and education advances, must be constantly increasing. The trade with Hayti will be of more importance to the United States, than that of all the British West Indies."

Five years have since elapsed, and even this modest demand of our sister republic has been rejected; and one of the best markets in the world for the products of free labor, is in a fair way to be lost, and the claims of our merchants for indemnity to be sacrificed, owing to the disgraceful policy of our slavery-subjected government; aye, and by the same policy, the damning disgrace is to be fastened forever upon this nation, professing the freest on earth, of standing alone among the Powers of Christendom, in refusing to acknowledge the independence of a People who, by their unaided efforts, in the face of the armies of England and France, rose triumphant from the condition of slaves, to the station and immunities of freemen.

To what are we to ascribe this shameful, and ruinous policy of our government? The answer will be given in another number.

The East and West.

While remarking on a Home Market the other day, we intended to call attention to the fact, that the Atlantic states furnished the material for their own consumption—from which we should have inferred still more strongly the necessity of securing the foreign market for the products of the West. Since then, the National Intelligencer has come to hand, and we notice that the writer who is supplying so many valuable statistics concerning Western resources, is enforcing the same idea. "It is a received opinion," he says, "that the people of the Atlantic strip are consumers of a very large amount of western produce. A moment's reflection will convince any one that it cannot be so; that they raise enough for their own support; and the facts furnished by the census tables prove this to be the case."

"The shipment from the West of very large quantities of produce is adduced as evidence of this supposed consumption. The truth is far otherwise, and is just this: nearly all the European orders for wheat, flour and provisions are

sent to New York; and are filled in the first instance by the flour of the Atlantic strip at the ruling prices—say \$6 to \$7 per barrel, and western flour is purchased at 35¢ to \$4 to supply its place."

"Western produce then going to the Atlantic cities, so far from being part or parcel of a domestic commerce, goes there to supply the place of the produce of the Atlantic strip already shipped abroad, or to be shipped itself. In proof of this the fact is before us, that the Atlantic strip raises enough for the support of its own people."

We know not who this writer is: he dates his letters at Louisville, Ky.: but whoever he may be, he deserves credit for his efforts to bring before the people, the vast importance of the Mississippi Valley. By comparing the quantities of the leading articles of agricultural produce in the Mississippi valley, and on the Atlantic strip, he demonstrates a difference of value in favor of the former of \$148,703,847. And further, that of the \$113,895,634 of value, exported from this country in 1840, the valley furnished \$73,141,408.

Liberty men have been constantly striving to arouse the people of the free states, especially in the west, to the fact, that the government has been grossly neglectful of their interests—and argument upon argument have they advanced to show the necessity of negotiations for enlarging the foreign markets for their products. We have seen many nice calculations designed to prove that no modification of the British corn-laws would be beneficial to our wheat-growers, because, it is assumed, they can never compete with the countries about the Baltic. And there have been as nice calculations on the other side of the question. The great fact has constantly been lost sight of—that what the West has done is no measure of what it can do—that its resources in regard to the production of wheat, corn &c., are illimitable—and all that is needed to develop them to their utmost, is an adequate market. The truth is, the farmers have been the gainers from the modifications of the corn-laws, already conceded by the British government, and will be incalculably the gainers by their total repeal. In 1834 the entire value of exports of wheat, flour and provisions from the United States, was, \$7,301,698; in 1840, and 1841, varying from twelve and a half, to fourteen and a half millions of dollars. The entire increase is by sales to Great Britain and her colonies; while to all other countries the exports have not increased one dollar. With Hayti, Cuba, and Brazil, we carry on a most unequal commerce, and no serious efforts have been made to put it on a better footing. The reason is, that they are markets chiefly for our free-labor products, and it is only a part of the fixed policy of our slave-holding administrations, to disregard these.

In relation to Hayti especially, the free states are the sufferers. The slave-holders will not consent to any treaty, or arrangement, which shall recognize that race of colored men as a member of the family of nations—and to please our masters in this most unreasonable whim, we have virtually abandoned the commerce of that island. We wonder how much longer the free people of the West will consent to see their dearest interests trifled with by a clique of slaveholders, studious of nothing but their own interests. And let it be borne in mind, that the people of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, are as much interested in putting an end to this miserably

selfish and sectional policy, as the free states of the West.

We conclude this article with an extract from the letter of the Louisville writer so often referred to.

"The surplus of wheat in the valley in 1840, after supplying the foreign demand and allowing for seed and food of man, was, 6,838,789 bushels; being nearly one-seventh of the whole crop. Of the other grains and potatoes it was 252,178,839 bushels, out of which food for stock had to be taken. Its surplus of beef and pork cannot be ascertained, but it is always very large. The existence of these large surpluses shows the capacity of the valley to supply any demand that may arise, and also the great need of a foreign market; for the idea of eating within the United States every thing fit for the use of man that can be or is produced in them, is a visionary one. If the task were imposed on the people, the attempt to perform it would kill them off in the first six months. The question is often asked what has been done by legislative enactment or by treaty with a view to secure or obtain a foreign market for our bread stuffs and provisions? We have heard some talk recently of a treaty with England to secure a market for our *maize*, and a most "amazing" thing it would be if it could be done. No one hereabouts, however, seems to have any confidence in the scheme. Some think, however, that by legislative enactment or by treaty the foreign markets for our bread stuffs and provisions might be greatly enlarged. Among others they cite the following countries, none of which produce to any extent articles similar to ours, and with which the balance of trade is against us to an exceedingly large amount, the extent of the trade being considered.

The following is a statement of the imports from and the exports of domestic produce to those countries in 1840:

	Imports.	Exports of domestic produce.
Hayti	1,252,824	\$945,365
Cuba	9,835,477	5,331,471
Other Spanish possess....	1,898,732	770,420
Mexico	4,175,001	969,938
Venezuela	1,355,166	554,267
Brazil	4,927,296	2,145,863
	\$23,444,496	\$10,717,324

This trade is against us annually thirteen millions, and is with countries that do not raise the bread stuffs or provisions to any considerable extent and moreover, we admit their leading article (coffee) free of duty. Can any thing be done by legislation or by treaty to extend the market for our bread stuffs and provisions in these countries?

Virginia and Ohio.

In looking over certain statistics in Hunt's Magazine, prepared by Professor George Tucker of the University of Virginia, we were surprised to notice that the annual products of Ohio were rated in value some \$13,000,000 below those of Virginia. On examination we find, that the difference was made in the higher price set upon the agricultural produce of the latter state. For example, maize in Virginia is rated at 50cts a bushel, in Ohio at 20; Wheat, at \$1.00 in the former, in the latter, at 50 cents. It is evident that this is not a fair mode of estimating the comparative wealth and resources of the two states. The Professor himself admits this; for, says he, "we

should make a very false estimate of the agricultural wealth of the different states, if we were to confine our attention to the money value of their several products, and not to regard the quantities produced. A large part of the products of every state is consumed where they are produced; and as to that portion, the greater the cheapness of the products of a state, the greater is its wealth. If the same labor and capital would produce twice as much grain in the Western states as the Atlantic states, it is obvious that either one half the labor and capital required in the latter may be saved in the Western States, and diverted to other sources of profit, or those states may have twice as much as the Atlantic states for consumption."

Keeping this in view—that is, that agricultural products generally are twice as dear in Virginia as in Ohio, so that it cost her twice as much for the necessities of life, we shall be able to form some idea of the superior wealth of Ohio, by the following comparative tables.

	VIRGINIA.	OHIO.
<i>Agriculture.</i>		
Horses & Mules, no.....	326,438	430,527
Neat Cattle.....	1,024,148	1,217,874
Sheep	1,293,772	2,028,421
Hogs	1,942,155	2,099,746
Poultry,	\$754,698	\$551,193
Wheat, bushels.....	10,109,716	16,571,661
Oats.....	13,451,052	14,393,103
Maize.....	34,577,591	33,668,114
Other grain	1,814,051	1,659,884
Potatoes.....	2,944,660	5,805,021
Wool, lbs.....	2,538,374	3,685,315
Tobacco.....	73,347,106	5,942,275
Cotton.....	3,494,483	
Products of Dairy	\$1,480,488	\$1,848,869
" Orchard	\$705,765	\$476,271
Hay, tons.....	364,708	1,022,037
Other products.....	\$2,282,250	\$1,896,666
Sugar, lbs.....		-6,363,386

<i>Manufactures.</i>		
Metals & Machinery.....	\$789,573	\$2,141,807
Woolen	147,792	685,757
Cotton &c.....	679,312	435,148
Tobacco	2,406,671	728,513
Leather	826,597	1,986,146
Carriages	647,815	701,228
Furniture.....	289,391	761,146
Ships.....	136,807	522,855
Houses	1,367,393	3,776,823
Other manufactures	2,130,483	
Manufacturing by Mills.....	1,963,850	2,217,052
Printing &c.....	104,212	346,680
Paper.....		350,202
Spirits.....		1,265,893

<i>Commerce.</i>		
25 per cent of capital	\$5,299,451	\$8,050,316

<i>Mines.</i>		
Iron.....	\$1,129,247	2,442,682
Coal	1,593,381	
Salt	436,404	
Other products.....	162,597	
The Forest	\$617,760	\$1,013,063
Fisheries	95,173	10,525

<i>Population.</i>		
Slaves & Free col'd.....	498,829	Free col'd 17,342
Whites.....	740,968	Whites 1,502,125
	1,239,797	1,519,467

Such is the comparison between an old slave state, and a new free state, showing how far in advance is the latter, as it respects agriculture, manufactures, commerce and population.

Virginia was the first Anglo-Saxons colony, and was settled in 1606. The first civilized settlement in Ohio was effected in 1787; and she became a state in 1802. Virginia has an area of 64,000 square miles; Ohio, an area of 40,000—two-thirds as much. Virginia in natural resources is equal, if not superior, to Ohio—she has more mineral wealth, as many advantages for commerce and manufactures, a soil as fertile, and perhaps more varied in its capabilities. And yet, Ohio, in 50 years has risen from nothing to a population of three hundred thousand greater than that of Virginia, and has at least one-fourth more of substantial wealth. What is the explanation? Virginia is a slave state, and Ohio is a free one.

But, notwithstanding Virginia has scarcely one-half of the whole population of Ohio, in the Army, in the Navy, in the offices of the General Government, in the Diplomatic corps, you find four Virginians to one Buckeye. According to the true basis of representation, that is, the free population, Virginia would be entitled to but 10 representatives, and 12 electoral votes—while she has in fact, 15 representatives, and 17 electoral votes. In 1840, the popular vote of Virginia was eighty six thousand in round numbers; that of Ohio, two hundred and seventy two thousand. The popular vote of the former now cannot be over ninety thousand, while that of the latter must be three hundred thousand.—Under the new apportionment, Ohio is entitled to 23 electoral votes, Virginia to 17; so that 5,294 Virginians have as much political power in the election of President, as 13,063 Buckeyes—or one Virginian is reckoned equal to two and a half Ohioans.

Will any one be good enough to tell us, what there is, in the character, position, or resources of Virginia, that warrants this inequality? The truth is, the toleration of slavery in this country has involved at once, the violation of every principle of republicanism, the establishment of a slaveholding oligarchy with special immunities, and the degradation of non-slaveholders as an inferior class.

Markets for Free-Labor.

We have repeatedly called the attention of our readers, to the gross neglect of the interests of Free-Labor, shown in our negotiations with foreign States. Further statements in proof of this, we now submit to their examination.

Our trade with CUBA is highly valuable. In 1840, we imported from that island, merchandize to the amount of \$9,835,477; while our exports were but \$5,331,471. The fact to which we would direct attention is this—that, while for 14 years, say from 1826 to 1840, our exports to Cuba did not increase one dollar in value, our exports therefrom nearly trebled—for in 1826, they were only \$3,894,597.

The reason of this, we presume, is, that our commerce with Cuba is placed under very heavy restrictions. The average per cent duty on the value of our various articles of exports, in her ports was 67 PER CENT! The average per cent on English imports at the same time was only 12 per cent!!

Have any systematic efforts been made by our Government to relieve our commerce from this iniquitous burthen? We know of none. And why? The reader may guess the reason, when we state, that *slave-labor staples constitute not one-fifth of our exports thither*. The balance is the

product of Free-Labor. Does any one doubt, that, did cotton, rice, sugar or tobacco, enter chiefly into our commerce with Cuba, the mightiest efforts of every administration would have been made to secure more favorable terms? Let the protracted negotiations of the government with England, France, the German Union &c—answer.

Let us now look at our trade with BRAZIL. And here we quote Mr. Webster, as sufficient authority.

"There is no more unequal trade in the world," he remarks, "than that between the United States and Brazil. It is altogether on one side. The United States take some five millions, (I believe trifle more,) of Brazilian products untaxed; and a half a million slightly taxed—I mean her sugar. And what do they receive from us untaxed? Nothing at all! Their taxes on commodities from the United States are excessively high. They tax the products of the labor and land of this country and sea 30, 40 and 48 per cent! We take five millions untaxed, and a half million slightly taxed.

"How did they stand with England under the late treaty between that country and England?—Her stipulation by treaty—which still exists—was that English commodities should not be taxed more than 15 per cent. English cotton, clothing, &c., is taxed only 15 per cent., and ours from 30 to 50 per cent! Yet England taxes them 100 per cent, on some commodities. We take Brazil coffee free, and England taxes it 6 to 12 cents per lb. Is that an equal treaty?

Of course the tables of our exports to Brazil show no increase for years. If there be any increase of the trade, it is all to the advantage of that Power. In three years, 1838, '39, '40, the value of our merchandize was, 6,374,817 dol., on which she charged duty to the amount of 1,466,207 dol.

Has our government tried the effect of negotiations in putting our trade on a better footing?—Not at all—and why?

In 1839, two thirds of our exports to Brazil consisted of *Flour*, and the balance of cotton goods, other manufactures, provisions &c., *nearly all the products of free labor!*

Similar disadvantages burthen our trade with MEXICO, from which we receive four or five times as much as she receives from us. In 1840, our imports therefrom were 4,927,296 dollars; our exports thither, 969,038. When we tell the reader, that our exports to Mexico consist chiefly of cotton goods, manufactures of iron, flour, and *other products of free labor*, he will no longer wonder at the inattention of our slavery-ruled government to this commerce.

The history of our relations with HAVTI, present a most humiliating picture of the subjection of the interests and wishes of the freemen of this Union to the tyranny of the slaveholders. In another number we shall say something about it.

Fanaticism.

"Paul, Paul, thou art beside thyself," was the language of Festus to the chief champion of Christianity. A few years since, the man whom the nation now delights to honor, was stigmatized as the "Massachusetts mad-man." It is the usual resort of the cold-blooded and selfish, to affix the epithet, insane, to the enthusiasm of which they are incapable. Doubtless the torics of '76 thought the "rebels" clean'demented; as the conservatives in England at this day denounce the advocates of popular reform, as fanatics. To no class of men has this epithet been applied more frequently,

and with more virulence, than the enemies of slavery in this country. It is easy to dispose of inconvenient facts and arguments, if you can only fix the epithet, "fanatic," upon the sober-minded man who presents them.

Col. Stone of the New York Commercial, treats this matter very happily. After defining fanaticism, as "intolerant, uncharitable and full of active evil"—not only "entertaining extravagant opinions, but insisting that others shall likewise entertain them, on peril of denunciation, proscription, or severe punishment," he says—

"Taking the word in this its more enlarged but also more real sense, it seems to us that there is quite as much fanaticism in some of those who apply it as in those to whom it is applied. Practically, indeed, their fanaticism is more virulent. We do not remember to have read or heard of a slave-holder being lynched by abolitionists. The newspapers have not made known to us any case in which abolitionists have assembled together in mobs to tear down churches, pillage men's houses or burn public edifices in which anti-abolitionists were holding their meetings. No anti-abolitionist has been shot, hanged, burned or whipped, to our knowledge, by the advocates against slavery. They have not even, within our experience, written us sharp letters of reproach for publishing what we thought proper. Some of them may have stopped the paper, for aught we know, because they did not like what they found in it, but if they have, it has been done quietly, and without assigning the reason. Practically, therefore, we say that as between abolitionists and their opponents, the balance of toleration seems to incline in favor of the former."

"Moral Sense"—Reverence for the Constitution.

To this day, there is no freedom of the press or of the mail in most of the Southern states.—Either laws or lynch committees subject the post-masters to responsibilities, unknown to the Constitution. The post-master is an officer of the United States. By law he is bound to deliver any papers which come to his office, to the person to whom they are directed; and he is sworn faithfully to perform this duty. But there are laws in the South which forbid him to do this, and oblige him, under the heaviest penalties, to perjure himself. Of these we shall speak presently.

Amos Kendall, as we all know, has been a favorite subject of denunciation among the Whigs. The most objectionable thing he ever did, their "moral sense" was unfortunately too obtuse to detect. It was the writing of letters to certain post-masters, virtually authorizing them to violate their oath, in relation to anti-slavery publications. These letters were read at the Clerk's desk, on Mr. Adams' trial, during the last Congress.

The first was a letter to the post-master at Petersburg, Va. in reply to the request of himself and the citizens of that place, that the Post Master General would adopt some lawful regulations, excluding seditious publications, viz: anti-slavery papers, from the mail. Mr. Kendall very properly disclaimed all official right to decide on the character of publications passing through the mails, but regarded the "authorized and persevering use of the public mails as a medium of transmitting from one state into another," anti-slavery publications, "as a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the Federal compact, which would justify on the part of the injured states,

any measure to effect their exclusion." "For the present," he perceived "no means of relief, except in responsibilities voluntarily assumed by the post-masters, through whose offices the seditious matter passes."

Here was a full justification of *perjury* on the part of the post masters, and lynch law on the part of the people of the states.

SAMUEL L. GOUVERNEUR, post master of New York, aware doubtless of the feelings of the General Department, in the excess of his zeal, assumed the responsibility of rejecting from the mail the anti-slavery publications issued in that city—and to such a point did he carry this matter, that he used to judge of the character of the paper within by the appearance of the envelope! Deeming it proper, however, to obtain the sanction of the General Department to this infamous usurpation, he wrote to Amos Kendall, who in reply gave such encouragement to his subordinate, as his cautious cunning would allow. He reiterated the opinion that the Post Master General had "no legal authority, by any order or regulation of his Department, to exclude from the mails any species of newspapers, magazines or pamphlets;" and refused to assume any responsibility for Mr. Gouverneur's acts. But, he wrote, "if I were situated as you were, I would do as you have done." He then goes into a sophistical argument to prove the propriety of the high-handed measure of the New York censor; but is careful to state that upon post-masters in such cases, rests the whole responsibility. He proceeds to question the right of the abolitionists to use the mails for the purpose of circulating their publications, and to sustain the right of the States to pass laws, for punishing post-masters, United States' officers, for delivering them faithfully, according to their oath! He then says—

"I do not desire to be understood as affirming that the suggestions here thrown out ought, without the action of higher authority to be considered as the settled construction of the law, or regarded by post masters as the rule of their future action. It is only intended to say, that, in a sudden emergency, involving principles so grave and consequences so serious, the safest course for post masters, and the best for the country, is that which you have adopted."

This from the Post Master General! under a government of law, too! A license issued by an Executive officer to every petty post-master in the United States, to violate his oath of office, and trample Law and Constitution under foot!

This letter was written August 22, 1835.—From that time to this, the laws and the Constitution of the United States so far as the Post Office is concerned, have been a dead letter in most parts of the South.

ADDRESS

To the Farmers, Mechanics, and other industrious citizens of South Carolina.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Are you freemen? Have you rights! and do you dare maintain them? If you feel so, what I am about to write will attract your attention, and excite you to action. You are accustomed to have much Fourth of July Oratory, and to be frequently told you are the freest people under the canopy of heaven. Is it so? You will perhaps be startled at the announcement that

there is not a more despotic government than that under which you live. As a Carolinian I am ashamed to say it, but it is truth. Call this state a Republic and ourselves Republicans and Democrats! Alas, we deceive ourselves if we think we are any thing more than the veriest slaves of a lordly oligarchy. But let us not be longer deluded by mere names. You have long enough been crushed and oppressed, your natural rights trampled upon and yourselves despised by the indolent race of aristocrats, that since the formation of our Government have held the reins in their own hands. They have managed by prating of liberty and the rights of man to throw dust into your eyes and keep you blind both to their arrogance and their cunning. Our beautiful state, upon which nature originally lavished her treasures, has been impoverished, and many of her sons have had to seek their home on some newer soil, because it was impossible for them here to live. Why so? Plainly because your state Government has never supported your interests or made any provision for the encouragement of industry and the success of honest labor, and you have had no part nor lot in the control of the state. This I am prepared to shew.

The white population of South Carolina according to the last census amounts to 259,084—the greater part of whom occupy the higher or upper part of the state. The 9 Districts—Charleston, Beaufort, Colleton, Sumpter, Edgefield, Georgetown, Abbeville, Fairfield and Orangeburg, contain a white population of 85,990, and are represented in the Legislature by 65 Representatives and 26 Senators; while the other 20 districts with a white population of 173,094 have only 59 Representatives and 19 Senators. Why this disparity? Because your Constitution has given to those who hold property in slaves, the advantage over those who support themselves by their own industry. Look at it again, Fellow Citizens—9 districts—with less than one third of the free inhabitants of the state, have a majority of 7 in the Senate and 6 in the Lower House. What can the other 20 Districts with more than two thirds of the white population expect from a Legislature thus constituted, whenever it is to the interest of this majority to legislate for themselves? Will they not provide for the slave interest which they represent and overlook the interests of free labor which antagonizes with it? This they have done, this they are doing, this they will ever do, until they who have no slaves and must live by their own industry compel a change of the Constitution. But to shew you how completely you are under the yoke of this slaveholding power, I will present another view of the Legislative representation. The 14 Districts—having 242,603 slaves and only 114,008 whites, are entitled to 77 representatives and 31 Senators—whilst the fifteen Districts having but 84,435 slaves and yet

145,076 whites—have only 47 Representatives and 14 Senators, giving to the slave districts a majority of 30 in the Lower House and of 17 in the Senate. Again I ask, can it be expected that so large a majority in the slaveholding interest, will legislate for the encouragement of the industrious white man? To legislate for you, will be to legislate against themselves. They grow cotton and rice; you grow grain and stock. They must have grain and stock as cheap as they can, and get as much as they can for their cotton and rice. They export their cotton and Rice and they import their grain. The exportation of Cotton and Rice increases the price of these commodities to you; the importation of grain and stock diminishes the price of your grain and stock. All their legislation therefore is to promote the interests of the planter at the expense of the farmer. But the power of the slave interest is yet stronger than appears above. If you consult the Constitution and see what are the qualifications of your Legislators you will find that you have no representation at all except it be by a mere accident. What are the qualifications of a Representative? He must "be legally seized and possessed, in his own right of a settled freehold estate of five hundred acres of land and ten negroes; or of a real estate of the value of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling clear of debt. If a non resident (in the election district) he shall be legally seized and possessed of a settled freehold estate therein, of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt." Here you see is a property qualification and however worthy a small farmer or laborer or merchant or Doctor or Lawyer may be or however intelligent, he cannot possibly have a seat and consequently has no representation in the Legislature. If the whole state were divided into tracts so that each white inhabitant could have a farm, there would be but sixty acres for each, so that averaging five members to each family, every head of a family might be possessed of 300 acres of land—a property that falls 200 acres short of what would qualify him for a seat in the House, to say nothing of the ten negroes or the equivalent required by the Constitution. But if he have not the negroes he must own real estate to the value of about \$700, to be estimated of course according to the rate of assessment for taxation. One may therefore own in many parts of the State thousands of acres of land, and yet not be entitled to a seat in the House, because his land is not estimated at \$700 nor is he possessed of ten negroes. And why is land estimated so low? Why is even productive land estimated at an average far below the lands in the Northern and the North Western states? so that a man with an hundred acres of land of excellent soil cannot get seven hundred dollars for it, while a Northern man would get for the same quality and quantity of his land from

\$2000 to \$20,000? The answer is plain. The valuable property in the state is not land, but negroes. The capital vested in negroes is so much taken from the value of the land.

If a man therefore does not own negroes, he must own more land than, as a general thing, he can bring into profitable use, if he would be qualified for the Legislature. But when a man owns a certain amount of land he finds it necessary in order to make it profitable and to increase its value, to purchase negroes, and thus as he increases the quantity of his land he becomes interested in slave property. In this way even those districts where there are but few slaves, will be represented by the owners of those slaves in the Legislature. They, therefore, will concur generally in measures for the support of the slave interest—and thus the whole House of Representatives must belong to the slaveholders. But to be a Senator requires twice the amount of freehold property qualification that it does to be a Representative. It will therefore follow that both Houses must represent the slave interest, not by a certain majority only, but with absolute unanimity. And the Governor of the state whose duty it is to recommend measures for the action of the Legislature, must also be worth not less than \$7000 in settled estate. It will therefore follow that he too must be a slaveholder. But recollect also that his election is not by the people, but by the Legislature composed of slaveholders. The Governor, therefore, is the Executive of the slave interest.

And now for your members of Congress. The two Senators are elected by the Legislature. They must therefore represent in the U. States Senate the slave interest. Again, the Legislature divides the State into Congressional districts, and of course it will so do it that the Representatives in Congress shall represent the slaveholding districts chiefly. The state is entitled to seven representatives in Congress. Now mark how they have arranged it. The lower country with a population of 115,470 whites, has 4 Representatives, while the upper country with a white population of 143,614 has only three Representatives. In Congress, therefore, as well as in the state Legislature, it is the slave interest that is provided for. Again, the electors for President of the United States have been chosen, not directly by the people but by the Legislature; and they therefore, also represent this slave interest. Again, your judges and your ordinary magistrates are chosen by the Legislature. Thus the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments of your Government are all the representatives of the slaveholding interest. And to make it sure that this order of Government shall perpetually exist, the Constitution provides that "No part of this Constitution shall be altered unless a bill to alter the same shall have been

read three times in the House of Representatives and three times in the Senate, and agreed to by two thirds of both branches of the whole representation; neither shall any alteration take place until the bill so agreed to, be published three months previous to a new election for members to the House of Representatives; and if the alteration proposed by the Legislature shall be agreed to in their first session, by two thirds of the whole representation in both branches of the Legislature, after the same shall have been read three times, on three several days in each House, then and not otherwise the same shall become a part of the Constitution."—Now I ask when will this slave-holding Legislature, by a vote of two thirds of both houses, in two different sessions, so alter the Constitution as to throw the majority of that body upon the side of the free interests of the state, where it rightfully belongs?—They will never voluntarily do it so long as their slaves can be any profit to them. You, therefore, fellow citizens, who have no interest in slavery, but whose interests are directly opposed to it, are tied down neck and heels, politically speaking, by this slaveholding power.—You put your vote in the ballot box, it is true, but you cannot vote for one of yourselves—you must make your election from among this privileged class.—Of what account, therefore, is your vote?—It does not help you out one particle, and serves to delude you with the idea that you are freemen, that you may not raise a clamor about your rights. And who are your masters? A class of aristocratic gentry, who living upon the labor of slaves, for the most part care not a straw what is the condition of the poor, but industrious white man nor what becomes of him or his family. If they can get some of them for their overseers, these they will take interest in according to their skill in driving and managing unruly negroes. And they are glad to make use of all of you on patrol and military duty to prevent a revolt of the wretched beings by whose toil they support their own indolent persons. And how many, let us ask, are these noble gentry, for whose comfort and care not only their slaves are to toil, but their fellow citizens must be oppressed by the deprivation of the right of representation? By no computation that can be made, can it be shown that there are more or can be more than 32,703 citizens in the state who have any direct interest in slaves.—And this is indeed an exceedingly liberal allowance. Then look at it. In a population of nearly six hundred thousand, there are thirty-two thousand seven hundred and three, who not only have the despotic power over their 327,038 slaves, but the entire political power over 226,381 white citizens who cannot by any constitutional means redress themselves when oppressed by legislative authority—who are so completely kept under that they cannot even have the ques-

tion of their proper rights brought into discussion in the only body that can constitutionally effect a change in the government. Is there a greater despotism under the canopy of heaven? The State is ruled entirely and completely by about 32,000 aristocrats, men women and children all told. They make your Legislature, your Judges, your Magistrates, your Governor. And do these your Lords and masters, the slave-holding nobility, ever do anything for the benefit of the people, anything for the prosperity of the whole State? No; never, never! and yet these are they who prate about democracy and equal rights. What, for instance, have they done for the education of your children? They have provided for theirs. Our taxes have gone to the building of splendid college edifices and the support of learned faculties, that the children of the rich may be liberally educated, whilst the children of the poorer but more industrious citizens have been left to get an education among the pine knots of the sand hills and the forests of the hill country as best they can. In the northern free States, they have schools at the public expense all over the country, supplied with good teachers, and rich and poor all send their children to these schools, and all thus equally have the benefit of a good education. Hence, in New England, you can seldom find a man who cannot read and write; but in our State one fifth part of the adult whites cannot read, and except the slaveholders, there are very few of the other four fifths who can even do this with anything like correctness. But this is the necessary policy of a slaveholding aristocracy. It is to their interest that those who do not own slaves, should be kept in ignorance, or otherwise they would know how our interests are neglected and our rights have been craftily stolen from us. You cannot, therefore, expect any plan to be adopted by our State that will give you any hope for the intellectual culture of your children.

What is the reason our State is not prosperous? We have natural advantages that ought to have given us prosperity equal to any State in the Union. Here are sixteen millions of acres of every diversity of soil and aspect, level, hilly, and mountainous, fourteen millions of which are yet uncultivated. The soil grows cotton, rice, indigo, Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and indeed everything the agriculturist wants. We have numerous streams for commercial and for manufacturing purposes. We have gold ore, silver ore, and iron. We have marble, and we have stone in abundance. We have fine harbors on our sea-coast for foreign commerce. In a word, we have, with a salubrious climate, all that is necessary in the way of natural advantages, to make us as prosperous a people as any in the Union. Our men are sturdy, strong, athletic, and as capable of labor as any people. And yet, with such a people, and such

natural advantages, we are going down hill. Our white population is diminishing. The last census shows a decrease in ten years of several thousand. Why is this? It is because our government gives no encouragement to free labor. We have nothing to stimulate enterprise. Hence, we have none coming in from abroad to buy up and improve our lands; and our own people, crushed down by a hidden oppression, are leaving the State to find a more prosperous home elsewhere. Fellow-citizens, we must do something to save our beloved State from entire ruin. We must demand our rights with a fixed determination to have them. The Constitution must be amended so that the free population, not interested in slaves, may have their rightful representation in the government of the State. This matter of property qualification is anti-Republican, and only fraught with disaster to the interests of the great majority of the people. And it will be a burning shame if we longer allow this small handful of indolent, proud slaveholders to ride over us rough shod, as they have been doing. Countrymen! rouse up for shame, and pour in your memorials to the Legislature, demanding an alteration of the Constitution. If they listen to you, well and good. If they do not, we can then see what further can be done. If we can once have a just representation, and then begin to legislate for free labor, we shall soon see our beloved State gaining in enterprise and importance. We shall be inviting a hardy class of emigrants among us who understand farming and manufactures, before whose enterprise our wild lands and arid wastes will be converted into beautiful farms; our streams will give forth the hum of the shuttle and the wheel; our commerce will increase, and everything will bear testimony of a free, an enterprising and an enlightened people. God speed the day!

ARISTIDES.

September 7th, 1843.

Great Anti-Slavery Meetings in Cincinnati.

A series of Anti-Slavery meetings, commencing at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 11th of October, to continue for two days, will be held in this city, and will be addressed by Messrs. Bradburn, Raymond Gay, White, and Douglas of Massachusetts, James Munroe of Connecticut, and Jacob Ferris of New York.

Due notice of the place of meeting will be given in the city papers.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"PROVE ALL THINGS."

[New Series.]

CINCINNATI, O., DEC. 1843.

[Vol. I.—No. 12]

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THE REMEDY," by Cassius M. Clay.

The O'Connell Letter.

CINCINNATI, November 30, 1843.

J. M. RAY, Esq.

Secretary of the Loyal National Repeal
Association.

SIR:—We have the honor of transmitting to your address an authenticated copy of certain resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by a very large meeting of the friends of Liberty, Ireland, and Repeal, held in this city, on the 19th of the present month.

You will perceive that one of these resolutions imposes on us the duty of preparing a letter to your Association, expressing the sentiments of the People then assembled.—We proceed to the discharge of this duty, penetrated by mingled emotions of pleasure, shame, and indignation.

We have great satisfaction in assuring you of the deep sympathy of the meeting, which we represent, with the Irish People in their noble effort for the restoration of their rights, and of the profound admiration with which we all regard your illustrious leader, who finds time and occasion, in the midst of momentous responsibilities and deep anxieties, to interpose his powerful influence and pour forth his persuasive eloquence in behalf of the wretched victims of oppression in a distant land. We are ashamed that Truth obliges us to confess that, in this country, boastful of free institutions, in the sixty-eighth year of our national existence, two millions and a half of human beings, endowed by their Creator with inalienable right to liberty, are held as chattel property by some two hundred and fifty thousand citizens of the United States. With shame and grief do we acknowledge the existence of this foul and dishonoring blot on our national character; but our shame becomes indignation, and our grief is turned into horror, when we see American citizens, whether native or naturalized, vindicating the continuance and extension of slavery in this country, by elaborate argument, and with unblushing impudence, claiming for this systematized crime a place among our National Institutions.

We deem this occasion a fit one for stating to you the views held by us, and by very many of our fellow citizens, of the true constitutional position of our National Government, in relation to slavery. No American, at all conversant with the history

of his country, doubts, that at the period of our revolutionary struggle, an intense love of liberty and hatred of oppression, possessed the hearts of all the leading characters of the nation. The patriots of that day refused to place their vindication of resistance to oppression, upon any lower or narrower ground than that of the inherent and inalienable rights of man. They held and boldly proclaimed these truths to be self-evident—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Nor was the assertion of these truths confined to this declaration. As early as 1774, the delegates of the several Colonies assembled at Philadelphia, bound themselves and their constituents by a solemn covenant, that they would "neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the first of December in that year, but would wholly discontinue the slave trade, and neither be concerned in it themselves, nor hire their vessels, nor sell their commodities or manufactures to those who might be concerned in it." And at the close of the revolution, in an address issued in April, 1783, by the American Congress to the States, it was asserted, as matter of just pride and exultation, that the rights, for which the contest, just terminated, had been waged, "were the rights of human nature."

Other public documents, and the private writings of the most distinguished men of that period, furnish unequivocal evidence that the existence of negro slavery in America was deeply deplored, and its extinction earnestly desired, by all good men and patriots. The light, however, which more than half a century of experience, and the combined efforts of so many wise and eloquent philanthropists have since shed upon the subject, was denied to that age. The safety and expediency of universal emancipation had not been tested by the splendid West Indian experiment. Immediate and general liberation was dreaded as fraught with evils to the master and the slave. All, however concurred in desiring to put an end to slavery wherever abolition was deemed practicable and safe. The man who should have dared to advocate its further extension would have been universally execrated as an enemy of his species.

The reality and power of these sentiments were signally displayed in the provisions of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, promulgated in July, 1787.—

72
226
3,9
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This territory was ceded to the nation by the states of Virginia, New York, and Connecticut, all, then, slaveholding States. No power had been granted to Congress by the Articles of Confederation, to legislate for the abolition of slavery within the limits of the States. But in regard to this territory, Congress possessed the same power over the subject that the States themselves possessed within their respective jurisdictions; and in the ordinance, providing for its government, the existence of slavery was prohibited, absolutely and for ever. There were slaves in this territory at the time of the adoption of the ordinance, held under the laws of Virginia. Since that time, it has been legally impossible to hold any human being as a slave, for a single moment, within its limits. The grand object of the ordinance, set forth distinctly in the body of the document, was "to extend the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty," and "to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments for ever thereafter to be established in the territory." These principles were deemed incompatible with slavery, and therefore the existence of slavery was strictly inhibited.

A few weeks after the passage of this ordinance, which was adopted with but a single dissenting vote, the Constitution of the United States was promulgated by the convention which framed it. It was supposed that the ordinance had effectually secured the country against any danger from the *extension* of slavery. It was, also, supposed that the principles of liberty and equality, to which the people of all the States had so often and so solemnly pledged themselves, and which had already led to the abolition of slavery in several of the States by the voluntary action of the local legislatures, would continue to influence the public mind and to produce like results, until slavery should be totally abolished throughout the land. The convention, therefore, did not think fit to confer any express power on the National Congress to abolish slavery in the States by direct legislation. They recognized the fact, that slavery existed in some of the States, in several constitutional provisions; but they were careful to exclude all recognition of its rightfulness, and to vest in Congress no power to establish or continue it any where. Slavery, therefore, under the Constitution, is strictly a creature of State legislation. No person, under any act of Congress, can be, constitutionally, reduced to slavery. No person, under any act of Congress, can be, constitutionally, held as a slave for a single moment any where within the range of exclusive national jurisdiction.

Some enlightened jurists in this country go even further, and maintain that the National Constitution, as it now stands, does, of its own force, absolutely abolish slavery

throughout all the States. They reason thus:—The Constitution, as originally framed, did, indeed, recognise by implication, the existence of slavery under State legislation; as a matter of fact, and, perhaps, of legal right. But the Constitution was afterwards amended in the mode prescribed by itself. Among the amendments, thus incorporated into it, was one which provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law." Now, every slave is deprived of liberty without any legal process. Slavery, therefore, is repugnant to the Constitution. This reasoning, if we regard only the terms of the instrument, is, certainly, unanswerable. If we look at the circumstances of the country at the time, however, it does not seem likely that the amendment was designed to have the effect attributed to it.

Be this as it may, we apprehend that no intelligent and disinterested person examining the provisions of the Constitution and the amendments, & comparing them with the facts of history, can withhold his assent from the conclusion that there has been no time, since the organization of the existing Government of the United States, when slavery could be established or continued by National legislation.

You may ask, then, how comes it to pass that slaves are bought and sold in the markets, and driven in chains through the streets of the city of Washington, the very seat of the National Government? How is it, that three new slave States have been erected out of the territory of Louisiana, which was purchased from France, and thereby became subject to exclusive National jurisdiction? How is it, that slavery still exists in Florida, which yet remains a territorial government, which derives all its powers from acts of Congress, and can pass no law not subject to abrogation, if disapproved of by that body? How is it, that ships, freighted with human cargoes, traverse the seas continually, under the protection of the National flag, and under the sanction of the National law? How is it, that the National Government, itself, instead of employing all its mighty energies, and exerting all its powerful influence in behalf of Liberty and Justice, has, for many years, directed its negotiations abroad and its legislative and administrative action at home, chiefly, to the advancement of the interests of slaveholders, and the perpetuation of slavery?

Truth, alas! compels us to acknowledge the justness of the charges implied in these interrogations. And the blush of shame mantles on our cheeks, and a tide of honest indignation swells our hearts, while we admit that the Constitution which the Fathers of the Republic ordained to establish Justice, has been perverted, by a most disingenuous and false construction, to the sanction of hideous wrong, and the government, which they framed for the security of the

blessings of Liberty, has been abused for the perpetuation of the curse of Slavery.

But it is not difficult to trace this perverted construction to its source.

Most unhappily, the framers of the Constitution, expecting the certain and not distant abolition of slavery by State legislation, determined that representation in the popular branch of the National Legislature, should be apportioned among the States, not in proportion to the number of free inhabitants in each, but in proportion to the number of free inhabitants and three-fifths of the slaves. The effect of this arrangement has been, that five slaves have always been counted as equal to three free persons in the constituency of a representative in Congress. But slaves, of course, never vote. They are treated as property. Their masters only vote. At the outset of the Government, therefore, when the number of Representatives was fixed at one for every thirty thousand inhabitants, a district in a slave State containing less than five hundred families, possessing ten slaves each, had the same right of representation in Congress, that a district in a free State containing five thousand families, averaging six members each, enjoyed. A slaveholder with ten slaves had then, and still has, a political power equivalent to that of seven citizens not thus privileged.

We do not suppose that the effect of this provision was understood at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. But it soon became apparent. The slaveholders, having succeeded in obtaining the privilege of having their so-called property represented, soon became sensible of its value. They soon began to appreciate the political advantages of the concentration of the share of federal power, belonging to their respective States, in the hands of masters, instead of having it distributed equally among the male adults of the whole population. When the Representatives of the slaveholders took their seats in Congress, they found themselves united by a common paramount interest. The Representatives of the non-slaveholders, on the contrary, having no such common bond of union, were divided among themselves on many questions. Profiting by these divisions, the slave State representation early acquired the ascendancy in the National Councils. To retain this ascendancy it became necessary to discourage all schemes of emancipation by State-authority. This explains the reason, why only two States have passed acts of abolition since the organization of the present National Government, whereas, before that period, six States, (a district of one of which has since been erected into a separate State) had abolished slavery within their limits, & Congress had prohibited its existence within the Northwestern Territory, out of which the four States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois have been since created.

But it was not enough to repress the disposition in favor of abolition in the States. It was necessary to make the General Government itself the patron of this detestable institution.

The first step towards this end, was to induce Congress to pass an act continuing in force the laws of Virginia and Maryland within the district ceded by those States for the seat of the National Government. This act embraced all the provisions of the State slave codes, and, of course, at once engrafted the system of slavery upon the National Legislation. It was a flagrant violation of the implied compact at the formation of the Government, that slavery should never exist under the legislation of Congress. It was, also, a plain transgression of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which not only did not confer on Congress any power to establish or continue slavery by law, but expressly declared that no person should be deprived of liberty, without due legal process.

A more signal proof of this growing ascendancy of the slaveholding interest, and of the perversion of the National Administration to the purposes of the slaveholders, was exhibited a few years afterwards, in the purchase of Louisiana from France. Upon the acquisition of that territory, the Congress, instead of emulating the example of the Congress of 1787, and consecrating that vast region to impartial liberty;—instead of hastening to redeem the pledge, which the nation had given to the world by the adoption of the ordinance, that slavery should never be extended beyond its existing limits—did not scruple to provide for the continuance of Slavery therein, by legislative enactment, in shameless violation of good faith and constitutional obligation. Several slave States have since been created out of this territory, and the Representatives of slaves, from these States, chosen by their masters, have taken their seats in Congress by the side of the Representatives of non-slaveholders from the free States.

The precedent of acquiring territory for the purpose of extending the limits of slavery, was thus established. It was not surprising, therefore, that it should be followed up, when occasion required, by the purchase of Florida from Spain, and by a fresh outrage on the Constitution by the continuance and extension of slavery in that territory by legislative provision.

These successive violations of the Constitution, resulting in a prodigious extension of the limits, and in an enormous accession to the power of slavery, attracted little attention from politicians who consulted their interests by rivalling each other in devotion to the slave-power. A few philanthropists and statesmen may have mourned over the progress of an evil, which they dared not, openly and manfully, oppose. At length, however, the public mind was excited by the

claim of Missouri, which was part of the district acquired from France, to be admitted into the union as a slaveholding State. This claim was resisted. The advocates of the restriction, and the friends of the extension of slavery divided the country. The struggle was severe. In the result, however, victory declared itself on the side of the slaveholders, and Missouri was admitted as a slave State. Since the termination of this contest until very recently, there has been no organized opposition to slavery. The political parties of the country have submitted to the sway of the slave-power, & the taint of pro-slavery has fastened itself upon every department of the National administration.

Thus we see that the original error of providing for the partial representation of slaves, which amounted to the same thing as conferring peculiar political power on masters, has led to encroachment after encroachment, & aggression after aggression, until the true construction of the Constitution has been subverted. It is now boldly claimed that the Constitution guaranties property in men, and that slavery is a National Institution!

We have seen our National Executive, in conformity with this false construction, pressing upon foreign governments claims of indemnity for the loss of persons alleged to be slaves, who were, constitutionally as well of natural right, free, the moment they were afloat on the High Seas in an American ship. We have seen our National Legislature employing the sanctions of law for the protection and extension of slavery, while it has insolently denied a hearing to the remonstrances of the friends of liberty. We have seen—Oh, shame!—our National Judiciary solemnly deciding that a slaveholder may, in a Free State, seize any person claimed by him to be his fugitive slave, and drag him into a slave state, without process, and without trial, subject only to legal responsibility, should the person thus kidnapped, ultimately succeed in establishing his right to freedom.

These and similar outrages, perpetrated in the abused name of the Constitution, have at length aroused the attention of the people. They enquire, at length, whether the Constitution of the country was, in reality, designed not to establish justice and secure Liberty, but to establish despotism and secure immunity to oppression? They scrutinize the powers of Congress to see if indeed there be among them an authority to create or continue the condition of slavery? They investigate the records of history to ascertain what were the injunctions laid upon their posterity by the acts or the precepts of the Fathers of the country.

We, who address you and our fellow citizens whom we represent, have been astonished by the results of these enquiries. We find that the construction of the Constitution, which has been imposed upon the peo-

ple of the country, is, morally speaking, a base forgery. We find that all power to create or continue slavery, has been carefully withheld from the National Legislature. We find that our Fathers have left on record their solemn censure of the iniquitous system, and their sacred pledge that it should not be perpetuated or extended. We find also, and we feel in our bitter experience, that free labor is dishonored, and its wages rendered insecure throughout the whole land, by a system which exacts labor without wages and degrades the laborer to the level of the *beast*. We are taught also that our own rights and liberties are endangered by the spirit of despotism engendered by slave-holding, which has so fearfully manifested itself in the denial of the right of petition, and of trial by jury, and in the desperate attempts to suppress investigation, by mob violence, by ecclesiastical servilism, by legislative enactments, and by party ostracism.

We have therefore, "*come out from among*" the patrons, the advocates and the apologists of slavery. We have resolved to VOTE FOR NO MAN, AND TO ACT WITH NO PARTY, not fully committed and pledged against this enormous evil and wrong. We avow an eternal hostility against despotism and oppression in every form, whether manifested in crushing the black man, or in depressing and impoverishing the white man.

From the inmost recesses of our hearts we thank you and the Irish People for your sympathy with us in our great struggle.—You have our sympathy in yours. You demand the repeal of a statute which makes Ireland the political vassal of England. We demand the abrogation of laws which make *millions* the *chattel property* of *thousands*. You demand the repeal of the Union statute, because it was *carried by fraud* and has been *perpetuated by force*. We demand the abrogation of our national, man-chattelizing legislation, because it is *repugnant alike to the Constitution of our country, and to the code of Heaven*. You seek to accomplish your great object by peaceful and legitimate means. We, like you, appeal to the PEOPLE and put our trust in HIM, who holds the hearts of all men in his hands. Your triumph, we believe, is secure and nigh at hand; ours may be deferred to a somewhat more distant date, *but it will come!*

We are aware that the energetic and uncompromising hostility of the Liberator to every form of oppression—has drawn upon him the bitter hate, and subjected him to the calumnious attacks of the partizans of slavery in this country. At a public meeting held in New Orleans, some three years since, he was denounced as "a political renegade, entitled to the execration of all sober, upright and enlightened American citizens, and to be regarded with no feeling but abhorrence!" About the same time he was

stigmatized by a writer in the state of Missouri, as "that detestable agitator, Daniel O'Connell," and as "that unprincipled Irish Incendiary." More recently the Irish Repeal Association of Baltimore denounced the speech delivered by the Liberator on the 10th of May last, as "a base calumny against the humanity and the purest sense of human obligation that are the characteristics of the Southern People!" Even now, unless it has been removed since the summer of 1840, there hangs on the walls of a slave dealer's office, in the district of Columbia, a filthy caricature representing abolitionists and blacks mingled together, among whom a conspicuous position is assigned to Daniel O'Connell, as a fit subject for the obscene witticisms of scoundrel traffickers in human flesh.

These things, however, were to be expected from the bigoted devotees of slavery in the slave States; but it required the evidence of our senses to convince us that the apologists for "the peculiar institution" who have assumed the leadership of the Irish Repeal Association in this city, would venture upon any open denunciation of the illustrious champion of Irish Liberty, or dare to draw an invidious distinction between the Irish People and their Liberator. But the resolution of the meeting held in July last, brought forward by Mr. Disney, which asserted that the declarations of Mr. O'Connell were "slandrous of the American people," and that it was the duty of the meeting "to repel the calumny, and hurl back the charge, with scorn;"—the letter prepared and addressed by Mr. Disney and others, in behalf of the Cincinnati Society, to the National Association; and the recent conduct of the Association here, in refusing to the scathing and overwhelming reply of your committee, the common courtesy of reception, on the pretence that the constitution of the society prohibited all reference to questions of a sectarian or political character,—a pretence demonstrated to be frivolous by previous action on the subject of abolition, and by the passage of a resolution offered by Mr. Disney, on the same evening, "to repel the coarse and unjust language of the great Irish Leader;"—these things have satisfied us, that these men, relying on the cruel and wicked prejudice against persons of color, which, though constantly abating, still too generally characterizes the American People, are ready to proceed as far in their defamation of the Liberator, as they have heretofore gone in their scurrilous abuse of the Friends of Freedom at home. But can these men imagine that true hearted Irishmen will long endure their shameful conduct towards a man enthroned in every honest Irish heart, as the truest and the noblest friend of his country? Can they imagine that the sons of Ireland who have sought in this western world a refuge from oppression for themselves, will long consent to be used as the instruments of oppressing others? If they do we think they deceive themselves. Not many weeks ago, at a National Convention of the Friends of Liberty assembled at Buffalo, in the State of New York, an Irish laborer, distinguished by his warm heart and clear understanding, declared that the first vote he ever gave in his life was for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, and the next was for Liberty in America; and he never meant to give a different vote so long as God should spare his life. There are other Irish-

men like him, and the number, we trust, will rapidly increase.

What do these men mean by asserting that "the people of Ohio have never had any connection with slavery in any form?" They know that the votes of the people of Ohio sustain slavery at the seat of the National Government, and in the Territory of Florida. They know that if the unconstitutional laws of the General Government, which sanction slaveholding, were repealed, and its influence and patronage arrayed on the side of Liberty, slavery could hardly exist a year. They know, too, that if the people of Ohio would elect to Congress the right kind of men, this object could almost certainly be accomplished.

These men say that compensation to the slave owners is impracticable, because the patriotism of the pocket prevails in America over other considerations; and without compensation abolition would be unjust. Ought the oppressors of Ireland to be compensated for the loss of the gains of oppression in the event of Repeal? Ought men who have exacted work without wages from their fellow men, during half their lives, to be compensated for imagined injuries arising from being compelled to abstain from practicing similar injustice, during the other half?

These men say that fifteen millions of whites owe it to freedom and the world to maintain and perpetuate *Republican Institutions*, by which term they, somewhat facetiously, designate *American slavery*. Now of these fifteen millions, at least thirteen millions are positively injured by the existence of the system. Of the rest of the whites, the greater number, probably, think themselves interested in sustaining it, though, even among slaveholders, there are not a few who detest the system and desire its overthrow. The happiness of two and a half millions of enslaved and half a million of free colored people is beneath the consideration of these champions of "*Republican Institutions*" and revilers of O'Connell.

These men charge the Anti-slavery men with being unfriendly to the cause of Repeal, and bitter enemies of Roman Catholics.

Both charges are false. Among the Anti-slavery men are very many ardent friends of Repeal. Some of them too are members of the Catholic Church. Differences of religious creed, or of national origin are not suffered to divide our ranks. We prefer to contend with each other—protestant with catholic, native-born with foreign-born,—in honest zeal for the Liberty of all and the Rights of all.

They charge us, also, with enmity to our Country and to our National Constitution. We may justly retort the charge. They—they are the enemies of the Country, who stain its honor, degrade its character and waste its resources in fostering slavery, our greatest curse. They—they—shame upon them!—are the enemies of our National Constitution, who have, by violence and false construction, blotted out all its guaranties of personal freedom and individual right, and have held it up to the world, as a compact for the perpetuation of crime and the extension of despotism.

But it is useless to expose the inconsistent sophisms or foolish calumnies of these men. It has already been done in a manner they will never forget by the Liberator himself.

Again, in behalf of the oppressed in this land; in behalf of all who are struggling to restore to

them their rights; in behalf of the friends of freedom everywhere, we thank you for your sympathy.

We do not doubt your final success. The wisdom, the forbearance, the prudence, the moral heroism displayed by your great Leader and the Repealers generally, in the late trying crisis, command our highest admiration. It was a glorious triumph of moral power over brute force. It was unparalleled in history. It will be remembered forever.

Our hearts throb with anxiety as we await the issue of the pending trials, though we cannot doubt what the result will be. Would that they might be abandoned! Would that England might cover herself with glory by a sublime act of Justice to Ireland!

We rejoice to learn that the friends of freedom in England are disposed to make common cause with the Repealers. It is an auspicious omen.—May it be fulfilled! And may God send the People of Ireland and their noble Champion a safe deliverance!—

We remain, with the highest regard,

Your friends and the friends of Liberty,
S. P. CHASE, JOHN B. KRAUTH,
JOHN TOBIN, P. McCABE,
G. BAILEY, Jr.

Committee of the friends of Liberty, of Ireland and Repeal in Cincinnati.

From the New York Tribune.

Slavery--The Evil--The Remedy.

"And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? * * * Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just: that His justice cannot sleep forever: that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: it may become probable by supernatural interference!—The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."—*Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.*

Thomas Jefferson never thought of the absurdity of debating the question whether Slavery be an evil, nor was he indulgent to the delusive idea that it would be perpetual. He reduced the subject to its certain elements: the master must liberate the slave, or the slave will exterminate the master. This conclusion is not weakened by the history of the past. The same color in the ancient Republics enabled the State to use emancipation as a safety-valve: yet, notwithstanding the thorough amalgamation of the freed man, with the free born, servile wars nearly extinguished by violence the noblest nations of antiquity: while no man dare say that slavery was not the secret cause of their ultimate ruin. But if "His justice" should "sleep for ever," and the tragedy so awfully predicted should never occur, still must we regard slavery as the greatest evil that ever cursed a nation.

Slavery is an evil to the slave, by depriving nearly three millions of men of the best gift of God to man—liberty. I stop here—this is enough of itself to give us a full anticipation of the long catalogue of human wo, and physical and intellectual and moral debasement which follows in the wake of Slavery.

Slavery is an evil to the master. It is utterly subversive of the Christian religion. It violates the great law upon which that re-

ligion is based, and on account of which it vaunts its pre-eminence.

It corrupts our offspring by necessary association with an abandoned and degraded race, ingrafting in the young mind and heart all the vices and none of the virtues.

It is the source of indolence and destructive of all industry, which in times past among the wise has ever been regarded as the first friend of religion, morality and happiness. The poor despise labor, because slavery makes it degrading. The mass of slaveholders are idlers.

It is the mother of ignorance. The system of Common Schools has not succeeded in a single Slave State. Slavery and Education are natural enemies. In the Free States one in 53 over 21 years is unable to read and write: in the Slave States one in 13,3 is unable to write and read!

It is opposed to Literature even in the educated classes. Noble aspirations and true glory depend upon virtue and good to man. The conscious injustice of slavery hangs as a mill-stone about the necks of the sons of genius and will not let them up!

It is destructive of all mechanical excellence. The Free States build ships and steam cars for the nations of the world—the Slave States import the handles for their axes—these primitive tools of the architect. The educated population will not work at all—the uneducated must work without science and of course without skill. If there be a given amount of mechanical genius among a people, it is of necessity developed in proportion as a whole or part of the population are educated. In the Slave States the small portion educated is inert.

It is antagonistic to the Fine Arts. Creations of beauty and sublimity are the embodiments of the soul's imaginings; the fountain must surely be pure and placid whence these glorious and immortal and lovely images are reflected. Liberty has ever been the mother of the Arts.

It retards population and wealth. Compare New York and Virginia, Tennessee and Ohio—States of equal natural advantages and equal ages. The wealth of the Free States is in a much greater ratio even superior to that of the Slave States, than the population of the Free is greater than that of the Slave States. The Manufactures of the Slave is compared to those of the Free States are as 1 to 4 nearly, as is shown by statistics. I consider the accumulation of Wealth in a less ratio.

It impoverishes the Soil and defaces the loveliest features of Nature. Washington advises a friend to remove from Pennsylvania to Virginia—saying that cheap lands in Virginia were as good as the dear lands in Pennsylvania, and, anticipating the abolition of Slavery, would be more productive. His anticipations have perished—Slavery still exists—the wild brier and the red fox are now there the field-growth and the in-

habitants!

It induces National Poverty. Slaves consume more and produce less than Freemen. Hence illusive wealth, prodigality and bankruptcy, without the capability of bearing adversity or recovering from its influence: then come despair, dishonor and crime.

It is an ill to the free laborer, by forcing him by the laws of competition—supply and demand—to work for the wages of the slave, food and shelter. The poor, in the Slave States, are the most destitute native population in the United States.

It sustains the public sentiment in favor of the deadly affray and the duel—those relics of a barbarous age.

It is the mother and the nurse of *Lynch law*, which I regard as the most horrid of all crimes, not even excepting parricide, which ancient legislators thought too impossible to be ever supposed in the legal code. If all the blood thus shed in the South could be gathered together, the horrid image which Emmett drew of the cruelty of his judge would grow pale in view of this greater terror.

Where all these evils exist, how can Liberty, Constitutional Liberty, live? No indeed, it cannot, and has not existed in conjunction with Slavery. We are but nominal freemen, for though born to all the privileges known to the Constitution and the laws, written and prescriptive, we have seen struck down with the leaden hand of Slavery, the most glorious banner that freedom ever bore in the face of men—"Trial by Jury—Liberty of Speech and of the Press." The North may be liable to censure in Congress for freedom of speech—may lose the privileges of the Post Office and the Right of Petition, and perhaps yet be free—but we of the land of Slavery, are ourselves slaves! Alas for the hypocritical cry of liberty and equality which demagogues sound for ever in our ears! The Declaration of Independence comes back from all nations, not in notes of triumph and self-elation, but thundering in our ears the everlasting *he*—making us Infidel in the great world of Freedom—raising up to ourselves idols of wood and stone, inscribed with the name of Deity, where the one invisible and true God can never dwell. The blood of the heroes of '76 has been shed in vain. The just expectations of Hamilton and Franklin and Sherman and Morris and Adams of the North, are betrayed by the continuance of Slavery. The fond anticipations of Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Mason of the South, have not been realized.—The great experiment of Republican Government has not been fairly tested. If the Union should not be perpetual, or the American name be synonymous with that of liberty in all coming time, Slavery is at once the cause, the crime, and the avenger?

Are we indeed of that vaunted Saxon blood, which no dangers can appal, no obstacles obstruct, and shall we sit with shiv-

ering limbs and dewy feet by the running stream; with inane features and stolid gaze expecting this flood of evils to flow past, leaving the channel dry? We who can conquer all things else, shall we be here only subdued, ingloriously whispering with white lips. There is no remedy? Are the fowls free in the wide heavens, the fishes secure in the depths of the ocean, the beasts untrammelled in the forest wilds, and shall man only, man formed in the image of Deity, the heir of immortality, be doomed to hopeless servitude? Yes, there is a remedy.

There is one of four consequences to which Slavery inevitably leads: A continuance of the present relative position of the master and the slave, both as to numbers, intelligence and physical power; Or an extermination of the blacks; Or an extermination of the whites; Or emancipation and removal, or emancipation and a community of interest between the races.

The present relative position between the blacks and whites (even if undisturbed by external influences, which we cannot hope,) cannot long continue. Statistics of numbers show that in the whole Slave States the black increases on the white population. The dullest eye can also see that the African, by association with the white race, has improved in intellect, and by being transferred to a temperate clime, and forced to labor and throw off the indolence of his native land, he is increasing in physical power; while the white, by the same reversed laws, is retrograding in the same respects. Slavery then cannot remain forever as it is. That the black race will be exterminated seems hardly probable from the above reflections, and because the great mass of human passions will be in favor of the increase of the slaves ad interim. Pride, love of power, blind avarice, and many other passions are for it, and against it only fear in the opposite scale.—We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that the slave population must increase till there is no retreat but in extermination of the whites. Athens, Sparta, Sicily, and Rome nearly, Hayti in modern times, did fall by servile wars. I have shown elsewhere that the slavery of the blacks in the modern, is more dangerous than the slavery of the whites in the ancient system: then the intelligent slave was incorporated into the high caste of quondam masters, an eternal safety-valve, which yet did not save from explosions eminently disastrous.

The negative of the second proposition, then, establishes the third, unless we avail ourselves of the last—*emancipation*. If my reasoning and facts be correct, there is not a sane mind in all the South who would not agree with me, that if we can be saved from the first named evils, by all means emancipate. *Emancipation is entirely safe*. Sparta and Athens turned the slaves by thousands into freedom with safety, who fought bravely for their common country. Dur-

ing the Revolution many emancipated slaves did good service in the cause of liberty. We learn from Mr. Gurney and other sources to be relied upon, that British West India emancipation has been entirely successful, and productive of none of those evils which were so pertinaciously foretold by interested pro-slavery men. The British have regiments of black men who make fine soldiers; protectors, not enemies of the empire. But above all I rely not upon sound *a priori* reasoning only, but rather upon actual experience.

There are in the United States, by the last census, 386,265 free blacks; 170,758 of whom are in the Free, the remainder in the Slave States. There are also 2,485,145 slaves—so that in fact about one-sixth of the whole black race in America are already free! No danger or evil consequence has ensued from the residence of these 386,265 freed-men among us. Who then will be so absurd as to contend that the liberation of the other five-sixths will endanger the safety or happiness of the whites? *I repeat then that emancipation is entirely safe.*

Emancipation must either be by the voluntary consent of the masters, or by force of law. I regard voluntary emancipation as the most probable, the most desirable, and the most practicable. For the slave-holding land-holder would not be less rich in consequence; the enhancement of the value of land would compensate for the loss in slaves.

A comparison of the price of lands of equal quality in the Free and Slave States will prove this conclusively. If, however, by force of law—the law having once sanctioned slaves as property, the great principle which is recognized by all civilized governments, that private property cannot be taken for public use without just compensation—dictates that slaves should not be liberated without the consent of the masters, or without paying an equivalent to the owners. Under the sanction of law, one man invests the proceeds of his labor in slaves, another in land; in the course of time it becomes necessary to the common weal to buy up the lands for redistribution or culture in common—how should the tax be laid? Of course upon lands, slaves and personal property—in a word, upon the whole property of the whole people. If, on the other hand, it should nearly concern the safety and happiness of society, both the slave-holder and the non-slave-holder, that slaves should be taken and emancipated, then by the same legitimate course of reasoning the whole property of the State should be taxed for the purpose. If emancipation shall take place by force of law, shall it be by the laws of the States or by the law of Congress? Let Congress abolish Slavery wherever she has jurisdiction—in the military places, in the territories, and on the high seas, and in the District of Columbia, if the contracts of cession with Virginia and Maryland allow. I lay down

the broad rule that Congress should do no more for the perpetuation of Slavery than she is *specially* bound to do. The debates in the Federal Convention prove that the Free States did not intend to assume the responsibilities of Slavery. In the language of Roger Sherman and others, they could not acknowledge the right of “property in men.” There is then no moral obligation in the Union to sustain the rights of the South in slaves, except only they are morally bound to regard the contract with the South, and in the construction of that compact, the presumption in all cases of doubt is in favor of Liberty. On the contrary the U. States are morally bound by all means consistent with the Constitution to extinguish Slavery. The word slave is not used in the Constitution, because the promises of all the Southern members of the Convention led to final emancipation, and a noble shame on all hands induced the expulsion of the word from the charter of Human Liberty. I cannot agree that there is any law superior to that of the Federal Constitution. It is the part of Christians to model human laws after the Divine code, but the law in the present state of light from on High, must be paramount to the Bible itself. If any other practice should prevail, the confusion of religious interpretations of the Divine Will would be endless and insufferable. In a country where Jews, Christians and Infidels, and Deists, and Catholics, and Protestants, and Fourierists and Mormonites and Millerites and Shakers, all are concentrated into one nation, it would be subversive of all governmental action, that each sect should set up a Divine code as each “understands it,” superior to the Constitution itself. If a case ever arises where conscience dictates a different doctrine—that the penalty of the law is rather to be borne than its prescription obeyed—then also there arises at the same time a case where the sufferers must look to God only for approbation and sustenance—he has passed from all appeal to mankind.

I dissent, then, from the ultra anti-slavery and the ultra pro-slavery men. I cannot join the North in the violation of the Constitution—I cannot stand by the South in asking the moral sanction of the North; nor do I regard it as a breach of the constitutional compact, that she should seek a higher grade of civilization, by using all legal means for the entire expulsion of Slavery in the United States. Congress having no power over slavery in the States, the States, each one for itself, where its Constitution does not forbid, certainly have and should exercise the power of purchase and emancipation. In Kentucky the Constitution forbids the Legislature to act upon the subject. We must therefore look to a Convention, or that which I most hope, to voluntary emancipation.—Enlightened self-interest, humanity and religion, are moving on with slow yet irresistible force to that result.—Let the whole North in mass, in conjunction with the patriotic of the South: withdraw the moral sanction and legal power of the Union from the sustenance of Slavery, then our existence as a people with undivided interests may yet be consummated. May the Ruler of all nations, the common Father of all men, who is no respecter of persons, and whose laws are not violated with impunity by individuals or by States, move us to be just, happy and Free. May the spirit which has eternally consecrated in the admiration of men Salamis and Marathon, and Bunker's Hill and Yorktown, inspire our hearts, till the glorious principles of seventy-six shall be fully vindicated, and throughout the land shall be established:—“Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever.”

C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, Ky. Nov. 1843.

Last Notice--Last Number.

This number closes the volume, to three thousand of our subscribers, who will receive no more, unless they forward the money in advance—12cts a single copy for one year! Who will send in for the second volume?